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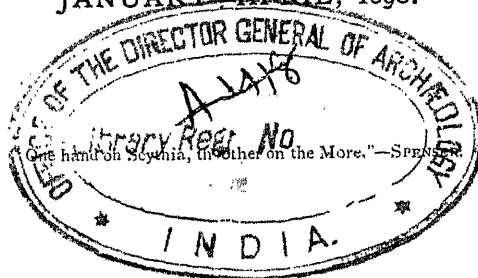
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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN-EMPRESS, AS "KAISAR-I-HIND."	
THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER. By a Frontier Political Officer	1
EARLY INSTITUTIONS AND PUNJAB TRIBAL LAW. By C. L. Tupper, C.S.I.	12
ELEMENTS OF UNREST IN INDIA. By a Bengal Civilian	28
THE KENG-HUNG CONTENTION AND THE UPPER MÊKONG	
TRADE (with map). By E. H. Parker	39
GERMANY IN CHINA. By A. Michie	56
WESTERN EDUCATION IN CHINA. By Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S.	65
BLACK AND WHITE "RIGHTS" IN AFRICA. By H. R. Fox Bourne.	
CANADA'S LOSS BY THE TREATY OF INDEPENDENCE AND SINCE.	
By Thomas Hodgkins, Q.C.	93
THE WANTS AND PROSPECTS OF CANADA. By McLeod Stewart (ex-Mayor of Ottawa)	120
THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D. (Balliol College, Oxford)	126, 362
QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM. By Prof. Dr. Edward Montet	136, 378
ON SANSKRIT RITUAL LITERATURE. By C. H. Tawney, M.A.	138
THE "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES: Vol. XIX.—The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king. Translated by Samuel Beal. Vol. XXXII.—Vedic Hymns, Part I. Translated by F. Max Müller. Vols. XXIX and XXX.—The Grihya Sutras (Vedic Domestic Ceremonies). Translated by H. Oldenberg. By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.)	141, 383
SHAN AND SIAM. By Capt. G. E. Gerini	145
THE RELIGION OF AKBAR. By R. P. Karkaria	164
AGRICULTURAL BANKS FOR INDIA. By Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.	225
THE PRESENT MONETARY SITUATION AND INDIA. By J. H. Twigg, B.C.S. (ret.)	236
THE TEACHING OF TRUE INDIAN HISTORY. By J. Kennedy, C.S. (ret.)	242
NEW SEDITION LAW OF INDIA. By Romesh C. Dutt, I.C.S., L.B.	248
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER. By a Sikh Patriot	256
INDIA AND THE TRIBES. By Ex-Political	271
THE EASTERN QUESTION. By Behind the Scenes	275
IN COMMOTION. By A. Michie	301
—A FORECAST. By J. Morris	309
EGYPT AND ENGLAND IN WEST AFRICA. By H. R. Fox Bourne	321
ALASKA IN 1898 (Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand). By G. R. Badenoch, LL.D.	344
HOLY WRITINGS OF THE SIKHS. By M. Macauliffe, B.C.S.	371
THE PARTITION OF CHINA. By Lt.-Col. W. E.	387
(a Reply and Discussion). By E. H. Parker	401

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION (including a discussion by Mr. Thornton, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. Martin Wood, and Sir Lepel Griffin, on Mr. C. L. Tupper's paper on "Early Institutions and Punjab Tribal Law." Also discussion on Sir William Wedderburn's paper on "Agricultural Banks for India—Practical Experiments Wanted," by Mr. Man, Sir L. Griffin, Mr. H. Woolff, Mr. C. L. Tupper, Sir Roland-Wilson, Mr. P. P. Pillai, Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P.

406

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, NEWS, REPORTS, ETC.

172, 419

Vedic, Accent and Intonation.—Sir M. Monier-Williams on some Remarks by Dr. R. N. Cust.—The Germans at Kiao-chow, by E. H. Parker.—The Privy Council on Mr. Tilak's Appeal.—Bombay Press Prosecutions and Native Opinion, by a Bombay Official.—India and England, by G. E. Ward, B.C.S. (ret.).—Professor Karkaria on Mr. Sewell's "India before the English," by R. P. Karkaria.—An Old Statesman on Indian Defence, by X.—Frontier Affairs.—The "Graded System" in Indian Filial Piety.—The Origin of the Alphabet, by R. N. C.—In Memoriam: The Life and Labours of the late Dr. James Legge, by E. H. Parker.—The late Mr. James Eastoe Teall.

172—189

The Sikh Memorial for the Saraghere Heroes, by Gurmukh Singh.—Shán and Siam, by R. F. St. John, M.R.A.S.—Panjab Tribal Law, by T. H. Thornton.—The End of the Insurrectionary War in the Philippines, by Hongkong.—The Hunza Chiefs in Calcutta.—Scheme for an Inquiry concerning Islamism.—The Bi-Metallic League Manifesto.—Revival of Interest in China, by Z.—Death of M. Charles Scheffer.—Poor India! by an Official.—The Recent Weavers' Rout in Bombay

419—431

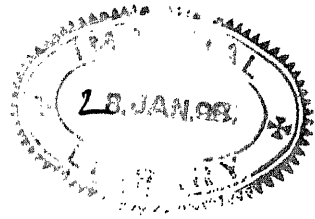
190, 432

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Translations from the "Jātakā": The Jātakā, translated from the Pali by various hands, edited by Professor E. B. Cowell. Vol. III. translated by H. T. Francis and R. A. Neil.—Vol. IV, of the New "Oxford English Dictionary": A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society, edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray.—England and India. A Record of Progress during a Hundred Years, 1785 to 1885, by Romesh C. Dutt, I.C.S., C.I.E.—Hinduism, by Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E., D.C.L.—Richard Baird Smith, the leader of the Delhi heroes in 1857.—Muhammedanism. Has it any Future? By the Rev. Charles H. Robinson, M.A., lecturer in Hausa in the University of Cambridge, with an introduction by the Lord Bishop of Ripon.—Inspector-General Sir James Ranald Martin, by Surgeon-General Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart.—Ancient Greek Literature: Short Histories of the Literatures of the World, edited by Edmund Gosse. No. I., Ancient Greek Literature, by Gilbert Murray, M.A.—Poems from the Divan of Hafiz, translated by Gertrude Lowthian Bell.—"A History of China": A History of China, from the Earliest Days down to the Present, by Rev. J. MacGowan, London Missionary Society.—"The Gospel of Buddha": The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records, told by Paul Carus.—Religions of Primitive Peoples, by Daniel G. Brinton, M.A., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D., Professor of American Archaeology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.—Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures of the Euphrates—the narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the years 1888-90, by John Punnett Peters, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D. Vol. II. Second Campaign.—A new edition of "Hariri": The Assemblies of Hariri, by Dr. F. Steingass.—History in Fact and Fiction: A Literary Sketch, by the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning, author of the "Divided Irish," "Religious Development," etc.—Indian Frontier Policy, an Historical Sketch, by General Sir John Adye, G.C.B., R.A., with a map.—The Eastern Question, by Karl Marx.—Men who have made the Empire, from William Duke of Normandy to Cecil Rhodes of Rhodesia, by George Griffith.—Studies in Comparative Religions: Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions, embracing all the Religions of Asia, by Major-General J. G. R. Forlong.—The Mystic Rose from the Garden of the King. A fragment of the version of Sheikh Haji Ibrahim of Kerbela, rendered into English by Fairfax L. Cartwright, B.A., secretary in Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service.

190—2

"The Japji or Sikh Morning Prayer," by M. Macauliffe. —Vol. IV. of the New "Oxford English Dictionary": A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Founded mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society, edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. IV., Fr—fyz, G—a. By Henry Bradley, Hon. M.A., Oxon.—Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, by the Abbé J. A. Dubois. (Translated from the author's later French manuscript, and edited, with notes, corrections, and biography, by Henry K. Beauchamp, with a prefatory note by the Right Honourable F. Max Müller, and a portrait. In two volumes.)—What will Japan Do? A Forecast, by J. Morris.—A Memoir of Major-Gen. Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., etc., by George Rawlinson, Canon of Canterbury, with an introduction by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V.C.; with illustrations.—Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar, by Dr. Fritz Rosen.—South Africa of To-day, by Capt. Francis Younghusband, C.I.E.; with illustrations.—A History of the Indian Mutiny, by T. Rice Holmes; fifth revised edition, with maps and plans.—The "Citizen of India," by Mr. W. Lee Warner.—From Tonkin to India, by the Sources of the Irrawadi. By Prince Henri D'Orleans; translated by Hamley Bent, M.A.—The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayam: A Facsimile of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, translated and edited by E. Heron Allen.—Our "National Anthem" in Fifty Languages: The Imperial Souvenir, devised and edited by H. A. Salmoné.—Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Transcribed from the "Original Correspondence" Series of the India Office Records. Vol. II., 1613-1615.—Sunny Memories of an Indian Winter, by Sara H. Dunn, author of "The World's Highway."—China and Japan: being the Travels, Studies, and Observations in these Countries of Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg.—On the Niger and the Country of the Touaregs.—The Hourst Mission, by the Naval Lieutenant Hourst, with 190 illustrations and a map.	433-454
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES	213, 455





AVE KAISAR-I-HIND, 1898!

## AVE KAISAR-I-HIND, 1898!

[The 1st January, 1898, commemorates the 21st Anniversary of Her Majesty's Proclamation of the Imperial title of "Kaisar-i-Hind" at Delhi on the 1st January, 1877.]

THE following is a description, reprinted, with additions, from our last July number, of a more than life-size bust of Her Majesty, the Queen, as "Kaisar-i-Hind," or Empress of India, made for the Jubilee Commemoration Gallery of the Oriental University Institute, where this Review is published, by the eminent Italian sculptor, Signor Giuseppe Norfini, under the instructions of Dr. Leitner, the originator of the title and its populariser in India. Although statues of Her Majesty exist in India, none in that country or in England represent Her in the special character which the assumption of that title implies. The difficulty consisted in finding a typical rendering in sculpture that should alike commend itself to Englishmen and to natives of India as well as meet the requirements of historic fitness and of artistic taste. The laurel wreath, for instance, which adorns Cæsar, from which "Kaisar" is an accepted Oriental form, was discarded as "palnam qui meruit ferat" is not an Indian acknowledgment of Victory, and would, indeed, lead to a misconception. Again, the Crown of the Moguls, although accepted by Hindus and Muhammadans alike, as a symbol of the Indian Empire, and, as such, transmitted to England, in Indian opinion is too distinctly Muhammadan, and too peculiar in shape, rising as it does in tiers, to meet with universal and enthusiastic adoption, whilst the Royal Crown itself, as depicted sometimes on the top of the head, would resemble too much an Indian top-knot which is indicative of renunciation rather than rule. So the handsome Crown on the Indian Rupee, as in the year of the Proclamation of the new Imperial attribute, that is to say in 1877, and as it exists now, was adopted and will, no doubt, be considered alike a practical, an appropriate and an ornamental solution of the difficulty by all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, as well as by Europeans, who have been long familiar with Her lofty features, through that coin. It was, however, necessary to give a Roman Cæsar's look to an Indian Empress in order to mark the origin of the word, and the result, therefore, was the truly Roman "Kaisar" bust, which, whilst combining the characteristics of Her Majesty's face and attitude, denotes Her Imperial position, alike to Indian and to European eyes. Incidentally we would refer to that feature of the "a'rq-us-Saltanat" or "vein of rule" over the eye or forehead, which Oriental tradition assigns to the being that is destined to rule. There is, probably, no photograph, sculpture, medal or medallion of Her Majesty that has not been consulted, and, although the photograph of Messrs. Downey was taken as the



authorized basis of resemblance, it was obviously impossible to take any pose of ease or age, as characteristic of Empire. The orders that Her Majesty wears on the bust are, the "Star of India," "the Indian Empire," and "the Crown of India," in addition, of course, to that of "the Victoria-Albert," whose effigies adorn the Institute, and whose busts, along with that of the Prince of Wales, form the apotheosis, as it were, of the Commemoration Gallery, led up to by the busts of representative Indian Chiefs and European and Indian promoters of Oriental learning. Musical instruments, historical, commemorative, dedicatory, or as used on great occasions of State, surround British Royalty, whilst the Indian races and castes, also represented in gems, offer their polyglot tribute to Her Majesty in tablets, Slokas, paintings, poems, and votive offerings, that are typical of the princes, peasants, and industrial workers, priests and others, not excluding a series of ascetics, all joining in a commemoration of loyalty. Mosques and temples, and many important Indian cities are there in drawings or carvings and, altogether, it would be impossible, as it would be tedious to our readers, to describe at greater length in this place the contents of a Gallery, of which a personal visit, to which we invite them, can alone give an adequate idea. We must, however, say a word on the insignia of royalty, which either in bas-reliefs or sunk into the stone, adorn the base of the bust. In front, we have the orb, ring, sword of spirituality, and sceptre over the name of "Victoria, Queen 1837—EMPRESS of INDIA 1877-97." On one side of the bust we have "KAISAR-I-HIND," in Persian characters, as on the Delhi official medal, but improved, under the swords of justice and mercy, and the sceptre of rule, whilst another side shows the same words in Hindi, but corrected from the Delhi medal where, by a slip of grammar, the bearer of the title is masculine instead of feminine. This inscription is surmounted by the quasi-mythological emblem of the "Nao-ratna" or "the nine jewels of India," which are typical of that country and some of which, like the Gomeda, had never been hitherto identified, but are now represented. "Nao-ratna" also refers to "the nine sages" of that most ancient or famous Emperor in India, Vikramaditya, and may thus be said to represent the ancient learning of that Continent, as well as the natural wealth of India and the wisdom of its Government. Behind, is the Coronation Chair, and below it is a trilingual reading of "Empress of India" from the Delhi medal as corrected. We trust that this bust of our beloved Queen-Empress may be considered to be a fairly adequate sculptural representation of a Title, of which we all hope that Her Majesty may live to see the celebration of many more Anniversaries by Her loyal Indian, and other, subjects !

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
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AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1898.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

BY A FRONTIER POLITICAL OFFICER.

THE war still rages between Government and Opposition over the alleged breach of faith to the independent tribes in the continued occupation of Chitral and the construction of the road thereto, from the Peshawar district through the territory of the clans who had been promised that there should be no permanent occupation of their country. The discussion has become rather an academical one. It is no doubt advisable that the English Government in its dealings with civilized or subject races should be without duplicity or bad faith. It is on the respect word that England has built up her influence in Asia and Africa and it will be an evil confidence which is now placed on the word throughout the East, is shaken or destroyed. time it must be remembered that a false statement is difficult to retrace and necessitates other steps in that direction, till a position is reached in which further advance becomes as impossible as a creditable retreat. No sensible man believes that Lord Elgin or the Home Government had any intention of deliberately breaking their word to the tribes. But the Chitral proclamation was like other declarations in time of war and became difficult to precisely alter for different conditions. The

bribes which are offered to possible enemies to remain neutral become an unnecessary extravagance after the victory is won, and a fatal temptation arises to keep the terms of the proclamation in the letter while evading its spirit and obvious meaning. Nor in this does any conscious dishonesty attach to the Government. They only understand what is reported to them by local officers, who, again, are confident in their power to obtain by cajolery and subsidies a sufficient show of consent on the part of chiefs and tribesmen to cover any obvious departure from the original terms. Nowhere on the frontier would consent to a subsidized road be more easy to obtain than on the Chitral route, where the inhabitants of the Swat valley are notorious as a cowardly and greedy race who would sell their birthright for a mess of pottage; while the chiefs, whom we have supported or established, find in fat salaries and a military occupation the best security for their lands and lives neither of which would have a long tenure if our protection were withdrawn. Under such circumstances, any desired adhesions to any scheme of occupation or road construction could be easily procured by an energetic officer; the chiefs and tribes reserving their right to break their engagements at the first moment that it might seem profitable to do so. Those who have had many dealings will not forget the Korans they have seen perjured signatures: for the Afghan lies as

elsewhere. But the Indian these trumped-up documents as valuable as valuable frontier policy. At any rate for the modification of

analyse closely the charge of too viciously pressed against scrupulous Opposition, who found a useful weapon of and on either side, except the

speeches of Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler, which adds materially to a profitable understanding of the question. That of Sir Henry Fowler was a fair and temperate review of present frontier policy, including the occupation of Chitral and the construction of the military road. On these points he does not appear to have unduly pressed the case of the late Government against that now in office. The question of breach of faith is indeed dealt with, but no such stress is laid upon it as to detach the attention from the general and more vital question of the system of border administration and the efficient management of the independent tribes. It would seem that the Government leaders are as anxious to confuse this important issue as the Opposition, who well know that they are as fully responsible for the Forward policy as the Unionists. Both parties, having thus the same object and intention, have agreed to select as a battlefield the trivial question of a technical breach of the terms of a proclamation, which not one in a thousand of the tribes concerned could have read, and which not one in a hundred had probably ever heard of. All sensible men, who engage in the Frontier discussion, should do their best to bring it back to the true points at issue. And here the Opposition are certainly in a more favourable position than the Government, because, at a critical moment, they accepted the responsibility of a decision, which was certain to be exceedingly unpopular with some powerful interests, and directed the retirement from Chitral, which at that time would have caused no injury to our prestige, nowhere more important to uphold than on our North-West Frontier. If this decision had been carried out, the question of the construction of the military road would obviously never have arisen; while the decision to maintain a garrison at Chitral as obviously necessitated the construction of an easy and open road from Peshawar in substitution of the extremely difficult, distant and circuitous route *via* Gilgit. The chief mal Government is that

they did not make up their minds in time. The abandonment of Chitrál immediately on the relief of the garrison should have been decided upon and peremptorily ordered at the time the relief operations were being carried out. There was nothing new in the situation. The policy of refraining from unnecessary interference with the border tribes and refusing to take up military positions remote from succour and always liable to attack, had been accepted by all civil and military officers, intimately connected with the border, who were not under the influence of an exaggerated and childish dread of Russia, or who were not themselves founders or abettors of the forward policy which they were consequently compelled to defend. But the Radical Government hesitated and questioned, and required reports on points which were already clear, till the time for action had passed, and they were compelled to leave office. Then came a great opportunity for Lord Salisbury's Government, which they were foolish enough to miss. If they had accepted the decision of their predecessors, they would not only have shown chivalrous generosity but good sense; for, at no cost to their own consistency, they would have extricated themselves from a critical position, and have been able to retire with all honours from a policy which is not only condemned by Indian experts, but by the vast majority of the English people, and which, if persevered in, will seriously endanger the permanency of the Unionist Government and shake the loyalty of many of its warmest adherents. Before  
ng the somewhat trivial question of technical breach  
ith, it must be observed that in dealing with ignorant  
illiterate savages the most simple declarations of policy  
alone be understood. All that the tribes realized when  
proclamation was issued was the main fact that their  
pendence would be respected and that there would be  
permanent occupation of the country. The long and  
orate explanations of the Government; the acquiescence  
s in the occupation; the eager consent of the

tribes on the road ; the doubtful conditions which underlie the positive declaration of the proclamation, count for very little. The vital question is not whether particular action absolutely fits in with the terms of the proclamation, but whether the frontier tribes generally are excited and disturbed by an unnecessary aggressive policy ; by roads constructed or threatened through their hills, and by the erection of military posts to dominate their territory.

The Government leaders have laid great stress on other causes for disquiet ; the preaching of Mullahs, the victory of the Sultan over Greece ; foreign incitement, plague and famine in India ; but these causes united have not produced one-tenth of the effect of an active forward policy, even if they have had any appreciable effect at all.

What then is the present position and the prospect for the future ? After an arduous campaign in which both sides have fought with the greatest gallantry and have suffered considerable loss, it is impossible to say that we have gained any advantage worth recording. When we consider the smallness of the British army, the cost of producing a British soldier, and the inadequate supply of officers with the tangible results obtained, most sensible people will agree that our loss has been altogether out of proportion to our success. We have assembled an army of 70,000 men, grotesquely disproportioned to the enemy we have to meet ; an army as large as that which opposed Napoleon at Waterloo, where only 22,000 were Englishmen. It must be remembered that the greater number of our Frontier expeditions have been fought by native troops of the Punjab Frontier Force, without any assistance from British soldiers, who are far too valuable to be used up unnecessarily in such a country and against such an enemy. However gallant he may be, the town-bred British soldier, enervated by long residence in the plains of India, is useless among the precipitous hills of the Afridi country, where there is often barely foothold for a goat. The  
- - - - - ds and Waziris are good fighters, but they

have never shown themselves the superiors of the disciplined Punjab local corps, accustomed to the country and to the system of mountain warfare, including in their ranks members of the very tribes against which operations were most frequently undertaken. The terms of peace demanded from the tribesmen, which are probably all that the General could hope to obtain, are absurdly disproportionate to the trouble and expense incurred. A few thousand rupees, probably borrowed from the Deputy Commissioner, a few hundred rifles, which we may be certain will be the most worn out and useless in the possession of the tribes. In old days the Punjab Government was content with no better terms after a successful expedition; but they were demanded more as a sign of submission, than as a valuable consideration; and the cost of their expeditions was not estimated in millions sterling. The Commander-in-Chief, in an after-dinner speech at Simla discoursed on the impossibility of barbarism remaining in juxtaposition with civilization; but, after all, this state of things has existed ever since the annexation of the Punjab, and would be existing still except for the aggressive action of the Commander-in-Chief himself, who is unfortunately in the position of being able to demonstrate the correctness of his copy-book platitudes. The initiative and the responsibility of change rests not with the barbarians but with the civilized power which adjoins them. The Afridis are perfectly harmless as an offensive force; they cannot descend into the plains of India to meet our disciplined troops. They will not even leave the shelter of their hills for a few miles, and their offensive exploits are limited to the burning of a frontier village, or the lifting of sheep and camels. So long as the civilized power considers it useful and expedient to allow the barbarous fringe to exist co-terminous with its possessions, so long, in spite of the oracular utterances of Sir George White, will civilization and barbarism lie down together in comparative peace.

11 In the future, the speech of Lord George

Hamilton at Acton was of a somewhat reassuring nature ; he, at any rate, did not re-echo the sentiments of the Indian Commander-in-Chief as to disarmament and the absorption of barbarism by its civilized neighbours. His programme was a very modest one, and seemed to be satisfied with such a degree of occupation as would secure the future protection and control of the great roads leading into Afghanistan. So much as this all sensible politicians will allow to be necessary ; but when the operations are over, it will be found exceedingly difficult to make other or better arrangements than have been in force in the past. Take for example the Khyber Pass, which is fairly open except at one or two points, and the road through which is excellent for guns, even for carriages with springs, while the central fort of Ali Musjid is so easy to hold and so completely blocks the road, that its capture by the Afridis is still inexplicable. How is the safety of the Khyber to be ensured except by leaving its defence to the tribes through whose territory it passes ? Any other arrangement will be productive of great irritation and constant dispute ; while its permanent occupation by regular Indian troops would be distasteful to the army on account of the dulness of the position and its exceeding unhealthiness, of which we had ample testimony during the Afghan war. At the same time it will probably be necessary to supplement the tribal levies who now guard the road by a small backing of regular troops at every outpost, and acquiescence in this necessity or in an absolutely free hand in the management of the Khyber should have been distinctly included in the terms of submission offered to the tribes. As it is, the Government of India has assembled a vast army to exact precisely the same kind and amount of punishment which under the old Punjab system, which Forward politicians so foolishly abuse, would have been attained at one fiftieth the trouble, loss and expense.

[On] George Hamilton's speech was not altogether  
[ ] ory or decisive. He seemed to have realized that



the great mass of instructed and intelligent English people were opposed to the insane policy which the Indian Government had for some years adopted, but he also seemed to hope against hope for some success in the campaign so conspicuous and decisive as to permit the Government to take up the thread of their defeated policy and again to talk of disarmament and annexation. His speech, with his alternative argument, reminded his hearers of Tennyson's poem of "The Two Voices" and was probably written by two different hands. But in much that he said all will agree. Not only must the Khyber be under our renewed and absolute control for the future, but also the Kohât pass. Independent territory or not, we have a perfect right to provide for the safety, the construction and protection of the great commercial and military roads without which neither our trade nor our strategical position can be secure. The Punjab Government indeed has at various times during the last twenty years solicited funds for the construction of an excellent military road, adequately protected, through the Kohât pass, and it should have been made at the close of the Jowaki campaign. It is very little use discussing, at this moment, the future administration of the border, which must receive careful consideration when the operations are concluded and when a basis for a scheme has been prepared and submitted to the Secretary of State by the Government of India. In the October number of the *Nineteenth Century* is advocated the acceptance of the plan of administration which Lord Lytton brought out with him to India, and which the Punjab Government then successfully put aside. Not indeed that the plans are identical, as Lord Lytton wished to create a military governor or warden of the border; while Sir Lepel Griffin urges the appointment of a civilian who may counteract the ardour of the military party and carry on the border administration on the former system in the interests of peace. It is better that the officer charged with this onerous duty should be under the immediate orders of the Viceroy in all

matters connected with the independent tribes or foreign territory, and only associated with the Punjab Government in matters of internal administration and social development which can not be separated from the ordinary provincial system. The approach of Russia, the growth of the power of the ruler of Cabul, and the increasing activity of the tribes render it impossible that border administration should be treated as a provincial matter when in reality it constitutes the most important defence of our Asiatic Empire. The question of the advance of Russia to our Indian borders cannot be now discussed, but this somewhat dilapidated scare-crow is always set up as an excuse to justify any folly or extravagance which the military party desire to press upon weak Viceroys or Secretaries of State. The frontier between India and Russia has now been definitely laid down ; there is no present cause of quarrel between the two countries and Russia has far too much work on her hands in the construction of her Siberian railroads, and her pressing anxieties with regard to the action of Japan and Germany in the Pacific to trouble herself for the next generation with so fantastic and impossible a scheme as the invasion of India. The Russian nightmare of our Forward statesmen is no more reasonable than the terror of a child in the dark ; but all fear is mischievous, and we here see its evil results in two unnecessary and unjustifiable campaigns within two years, the first due to the wilful and headstrong action of frontier officers whom the Government was too weak to control and too timid to punish ; and the second the direct result and offspring of the mistakes of the first. Neither England nor India will long tolerate such gigantic blunders in frontier administration.

One last word may be said on the question of disarmament, although to those who know the frontier the disarmament of the tribes was acknowledged to be an impossible thing, and the demand was only formulated by persons imperfectly instructed, like the Commander-in-

Chief in his after-dinner speech. All that we appear to be practically receiving in the way of disarmament from the enemy, who may be tired of fighting but whose defeat seems as far off as ever, are some camel-loads of old iron, by courtesy called rifles; while the tribes will undoubtedly retain the best breech-loaders for the next occasion they may feel inclined to engage in the fascinating amusement of attacking British troops, with every advantage on their own side. But there is no doubt that more rigid measures must be taken to prevent the introduction of arms of precision into the hill country. The punishment for smuggling arms into India should be increased; the punishment for selling to the tribes should be penal servitude; the penalty for stealing arms from British arsenals or for a British soldier selling his weapon across the border should be death. With no lesser penalties shall we have security from the greed of the Commissariat subordinate or the passion for drink of the British soldier.\* The Afghan war left behind it a very large number of arms of precision, acquired in irregular ways, and an enormous amount of money, the first use of which was the purchase of arms by the border tribes. It is not by way of the Persian Gulf, as has been stated, that arms reach our frontier. These, which are smuggled by so-called respectable firms into Bushire and Bunder Abbas, are purchased by warlike Persian tribes like the Bakhtiaris, and the import causes much annoyance to the Persian Government: nor is it likely that many of the Afridis' rifles have come from Kabul. This will doubtless be reported on later, but the Afridis have been through all time so opposed to Kabul supremacy that the Ameer is not likely to strengthen their hands by the gift of weapons, which, sooner or later, would be turned against himself. He may not have any love for the English, for gratitude is not a quality known to the Afghan; and his fanatical

\* The telegram in the *Times* of December 10, 1897, concerning the wholesale theft of ammunition from the Rawal Pindi arsenal by Commissariat subordinates, gives to these remarks an immediate confirmation.—*Ed.*

tendencies seem to grow stronger with increasing age: but his public declarations and his public actions have been so positively on our side that there is no reason to suspect him of secretly supplying arms to our, and his, enemies. Those who are behind the scenes in India know very well the sources of supply, and that these sources will not be dried up until the penalties for theft, robbery and smuggling arms and ammunition are enforced relentlessly against offenders in British India.

## EARLY INSTITUTIONS AND PUNJAB TRIBAL LAW.

BY C. L. TUPPER, C.S.I.

"It is not necessary to dwell upon the value of a substantial knowledge of the facts of one tribal society as a key with which to unlock the riddles of others. Nor is it necessary to point out the importance of a knowledge of the tribal system, wherever found, as an almost universal factor in the early development of European society, and in the formation of mediæval institutions." These words are an extract from the Preface of Mr. F. Seebohm's book on *The Tribal System in Wales*, published in 1895. This most learned and extremely conscientious work was quickly followed by an essay *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society*, written by Mr. Hugh Seebohm, who is Mr. Frederic Seebohm's son. Mr. Hugh Seebohm has drawn many of his illustrations of the Greek tribal system from the ancient laws of Wales partly because they "afford a peculiarly vivid glimpse into the inner organization of a tribal people, such as cannot be obtained elsewhere." And he relies on the *Ordinances of Manu* as supplying "a very fair account of the customs of a highly-developed Eastern people."

It seems probable that in the comparative study of tribal systems the Welsh evidence is entitled to an extremely high place because it is in a sense comparatively recent evidence. The tribal structure of society, though in a partially disintegrated condition, survived in Wales till the reign of Henry VIII. If we are to attempt to reconstruct the ancient tribal society of Western Europe from documentary evidence—and no doubt in a comprehensive application of the comparative method this enterprise has a place—then the interpretation of the rules of customary tribal law contained in the Welsh Codes and other treatises of sixth-century donations to the monasteries and

thirteenth-century descriptions by Norman surveyors and lawyers has an important scientific value.

In the Punjab, however, we have had under expert examination for the last thirty years existing tribal societies of a remarkably clear type. There is no need to reconstruct the type by collecting its elements from ancient documents. It is with us a living organism moving, and indeed changing, before our eyes. And for reasons which will appear below, this Punjab Tribal Law supplies better illustrations of the tribal system than the *Ordinances of Manu*. It is thus a principal object of the present paper to call the attention of those in this country who are interested in tribal studies to the valuable evidence relating to the structure of tribes which has been and is being amassed in the Punjab chiefly by the officers of the Punjab Commission.\*

It is a remark of Sir Henry Maine (*Early History of Institutions*, p. 53) that the student of the Brahminical Hindu Law "is constantly asking himself how far was the law of the Brahmin jurists observed before the English undertook to enforce it through their tribunals?" Fortunately for the Punjab this question was substantially asked in a practical way at a very early stage of our administrative history in that Province. Lord Dalhousie, on the annexation of the greater part of the Punjab in 1849, determined to exclude from a newly-conquered and unsettled country the voluminous laws of the Regulation Provinces. It was soon found that the civil officers needed rules for guidance in dealing with judicial cases; and this want was supplied by the Punjab Civil Code, an excellent manual of civil law framed by Sir Richard Temple under the orders of John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery. The Punjab Civil Code was promulgated in 1854, and it appears from the commentary by which it was accompanied

\* The books on Punjab Tribal Law referred to in this article are probably very rare or not available in this country. I have no doubt that help would be given in procuring at any rate the *official* treatises, on application to the *Chief Secretary to Government, Lahore, the Punjab*.

that the Hindu and Muhammadan Law was then supposed to prevail "more or less everywhere but exclusively nowhere." It was understood that in towns, amongst immigrants from Hindustan and the mercantile, wealthy and educated classes, the Hindu and Muhammadan Codes were generally followed, but that outside the towns and frequently amongst the agricultural tribes local customs were prevalent. It was known that this so-called local custom varied; but it was not distinctly perceived that the customs relating to succession and property in agricultural land were essentially tribal customs; and language was used which implied that Punjab local usage had in places superseded the Hindu or Muhammadan Law; whereas it is now pretty generally recognised that Punjab Tribal Law is more archaic, that is structurally of an older type, than Hindu Law, while Muhammadan Law has manifestly been imported within historical times, and, in the cases of the law of marriage and of some rules of succession, tends to a limited extent to supersede custom.

The Punjab Civil Code was not in the first instance intended to have the force of law. It was meant to be a manual for the guidance of civil officers in the exercise of the very wide discretion allowed to them in the newly-annexed Province. The Code may have acquired the force of law under the Indian Councils Act of 1861; the point was much debated, and has now ceased to be material, for the Code was superseded by the Punjab Laws Act of 1872. Whatever was the exact force of the Code or of different parts of it, there is a high probability that its effect was to preserve tribal customs. It seems to me to have acted like a giant dam or embankment staying off the flood of case-law and book-law by which tribal custom was threatened and might have been obliterated. The instructions which accompanied the Code directed the Courts to decide first, whether in any case or class of cases law or custom was to be followed; and secondly, if custom was to be followed, then what that custom was. This position was slightly

changed by the Punjab Laws Act under which custom is the first rule of decision in matters of succession, the private relations of life, and dispositions of property other than sales and mortgages; and in practice Hindu or Muhammadan law is applied only where no customary rule prevails. The Act, however, subscribes to the mistaken theory that the Hindu or Muhammadan Law has in the Punjab been modified by custom—a theory which, in the case of the agricultural tribes, has been disproved by the results of subsequent investigation.

Legislation or its practical equivalent gave us in succession the Punjab Civil Code and the Punjab Laws Act. We have also to take into view executive and judicial action. The credit of having first drawn special attention to the tribal character of rural custom belongs mainly to Mr. Edward Prinsep, who was Settlement Commissioner in the Punjab in 1865. He caused Codes of tribal custom to be compiled in the vernacular in the Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, and other districts; and in this way began a work which has since had a great extension. His practice has been followed in other Settlements. Between the years 1873 and 1879 the general plan of these vernacular compilations was enlarged and improved; and in addition to superintending the preparation of the vernacular records, Settlement officers have now for many years supplied English abstracts of their Tribal Codes. These abstracts have been printed in the Punjab Customary Law series, which now comprises fifteen volumes, many of the volumes, however, being merely of pamphlet size. It appears that vernacular Tribal Codes now exist in 30 districts, and abstract translations of them have been prepared for 16 districts out of the 31 of which the Punjab is composed.

Coming now to the contributions made to the subject by judicial officers I observe that a compilation condensing the decisions of the Chief Court on points of Customary Law in the Punjab was published by Messrs. Boulnois and W. H. Rattigan in 1876 under the title of *Notes on Customary Law*.



A second edition of the work appeared in 1878. It has been succeeded by Sir William Rattigan's *Digest*,\* which reached a fifth edition in 1896. In the previous year Sir Charles Roe and Mr. Henry Rattigan published their *Tribal Law in the Punjab*. This work is dedicated to Sir Meredyth Plowden, late Senior Judge of the Chief Court, "to whose able and exhaustive judgments the Punjab is so greatly indebted for a clear exposition of the true principles of its Tribal Law." This paper would be very incomplete without some reference to the debt which the Punjab owes to Sir Meredyth Plowden; but I feel that on that subject it is more appropriate for me to quote the terms of Sir Charles Roe's dedication than to offer any remark of my own.

I long ago promised to review *Tribal Law in the Punjab*, and I hope this paper may be accepted as redeeming that promise. Sir Charles Roe has explained in his preface his method of co-operation with Mr. Henry Rattigan, who collected and arranged the judicial decisions. The general conclusions, in which Mr. Henry Rattigan concurs, are stated by Sir Charles Roe in the first person; and in commenting upon some of them, I shall attribute them to him.

And first I should like to quote a short passage which in a measure confirms what I have already said on the relation of Punjab Tribal Law to Hindu and Muhammadan Law. Sir Charles Roe believes that on the annexation of the Punjab our officers acted on the presumption that Hindu proprietors followed the Hindu Law and Muhammadan proprietors the Muhammadan Law; and this at first, perhaps, many of them did, though the promulgation of the Punjab Civil Code in 1854 should have checked the process. He then proceeds:—"It is hardly an exaggeration to say that if an intelligent foreigner had been called upon in bygone times to decide disputes regarding lands

\* "A Digest of Civil Law for the Punjab, chiefly based on the Customary Law as at present judicially ascertained." By Sir W. H. Rattigan. 2d. Sons, London, 1896.

amongst the Scotch clans, or the Irish septs, and if he had presumed that Protestants followed the Bible, that is, the Levitical Law, and Roman Catholics the Roman or the Canon Law, his presumption would have been equally near, or far from, the truth." This is a telling way of putting the case ; but I may be allowed to say that it does not cover a point which appears to me to have particular importance. Punjab Tribal Law has special claims on the attention of comparative jurists and students of sociology because it is a body of primitive Aryan usage evidently related to the Hindu law of the text-books and the courts as some law far older than the Twelve Tables, some Latin law of which we see the survivals in the Roman Law of the books, was related to the law of the Institutes of Justinian. To anyone endeavouring to decipher the origin of Roman Law I would respectfully commend the examination of the Tribal Law of the Punjab.

Hindu law, suffused throughout with the religious doctrines of its Brahmin expositors, deals, as Sir Charles Roe points out, with joint families, but ignores the tribal and the village bond. It belongs to a state of things when the primitive fighting tribes, who seize upon waste lands or conquer settled peasantry, have been metamorphosed beyond recognition ; when the compact village community has fallen into decay ; when a priestly caste has arisen which dominates or seeks to dominate society ; and when sacerdotal reasons for secular acts, elaborate rules of procedure, and the multiplication of distinctions affecting the simple business of life conduce to the interests of an intellectual class who are at once priests and lawyers. There are, if we take both sexes into account, more than a million Brahmins in the Punjab ; and to Brahminical influence we may largely ascribe the prevalence and maintenance of the ceremonial rules of caste, which are strong in the east and centre of the Province, but comparatively weak on the frontier and in the thickly populated regions of the south west. But the Brahmins are not now, nor is there any

reason to think they were before our day, the lawyers of the agricultural tribesmen.

The records of tribal custom prepared for the Umballa District fill 37 volumes, and the answers made to the questions propounded in the Ludhiana district are contained in 34 Codes. In many other places also the vernacular records are probably very voluminous; and the English literature of the subject, as will already have become apparent, is by no means slight in extent. This abundance of material testifies to considerable variety in usage; and no exhaustive account of the professed customs of all the tribes is likely to be compiled by anyone; nor is such a compilation much wanted. The separate vernacular codes are evidence of the customs detailed in them, and are referred to by the courts on the occurrence of disputes. One cause of variety doubtless is that different tribes, and perhaps sometimes the same tribes in different places, have reached different stages of proprietary and social growth. Another cause is the influence of Muhammadan law in the case both of immigrants within historical times and of old settled converts to Islam. Yet a third cause is greater pressure of population on the soil in some places than in others, combined with the effect of our own laws and government. Landed property has become so valuable now that the tribal objection to outsiders has been intensified. But notwithstanding all the variations due to these and other causes, the general principles of the system are discernible, and are singularly simple and clear.

The system is one of tribes retaining cohesion who have by means of conquest or occupation of the waste brought with them, from a previous predatory or nomad and pastoral stage, a marriage law and rules for the distribution of and succession to property which, modified to suit their altered conditions, continue to aid them in the struggle for life. The fierce, the almost savage theory, not far removed from the ameliorated system as we know it, is that the land belongs to the fighting men of the clan, and that women, like any other live stock, are family property, to be acquired

by capture, by purchase, or as a bloodwite in satisfaction of a feud. Kinship for purposes of succession is agnatic; the old Roman maxim *mulier est finis familiæ* applies; women do not inherit landed property; on marriage they pass out of the father's clan into the clan of the husband; the land must not leave the clan, and if women succeeded as heirs they would bring outsiders into possession.

The *jus connubii* is of prime importance. As a general rule a man may not marry a woman of his own clan nor, it is often added, of the clan of his mother, of her mother or of his father's mother. But, also as a general rule, a man may marry only within the circle of his own tribe or race, or is limited to tribes of a certain social standing; though Muhammadan tribes frequently yield to the greater latitude of choice allowed to believers in Islam and even encourage marriages between cousins. "All Hindu tribes,"\* writes Mr. Wilson, in stating the customs of the Sirsa district, "are very particular in maintaining the purity of the tribe and preventing the infusion of any strange blood. Should any member of the tribe marry a woman of another tribe . . . a *panchayat*† of the brotherhood is quickly summoned and generally succeeds, by threatening to excommunicate him (*hukka pāni band karna*), in compelling him to part with her, and to pay a fine or give them a feast by way of expiation." In the same district Hindus may not marry women of their own *got* or clan; hence we have here exogamy surviving in a modified form; and I do not think it is fanciful to allow the tribal penalty, which means that the delinquent shall be given neither pipe to smoke nor water to drink, to recall the old Roman punishment *aquæ et ignis interdictio*. The symbol of capture is not, so far as I am aware, anywhere an essential part of the marriage ceremony; but it is traceable in the familiar marriage procession of the bridegroom to the house of the

\* Throughout this article I use the word clan (*got* in the vernacular) to denote the subdivision of a tribe. Mr. Wilson follows the same terminology.

† *Panchayat* = committee.

bride and in rough practices at weddings. The sale of girls for wives is extremely common but not officially recognised, while it is allowed by the peasantry to be a more or less discreditable thing, excusable only on grounds of poverty. The symbol of sale, some small or nominal payment being made at the time of betrothal, frequently occurs and reminds us of the *coemptio in manum*, the old law of the plebs, which emerged in later Roman law from the obscurity in which it was left by the Twelve Tables.\*

Women, however, whatever they may still be according to the practice of wild frontier tribes, are in Panjab Tribal Law by no means mere chattels. A conspicuous illustration of this improvement is the almost universally accepted rule that the widow of a sonless man is entitled to the possession and enjoyment of her husband's land for life or till remarriage.

Wills and the distinctions which in Hindu law apply to the respective rights of associated and unassociated brethren and to the special property of women are unknown to Panjab Tribal Law as such. They really belong to a later stage in juridical development. I do not say that wills are never made or these distinctions never recognised; but I think that so far as the peasantry are concerned, if wills occur or these distinctions are recognised the circumstance would in most cases be due to the permeation of our ideas and the action of our Courts. In the exclusion of daughters and the devolution of the inheritance upon male descendants how low soever in the descending line Punjab custom differs from both Muhammadan and Hindu Law. The right of representation, disallowed by the Muhammadan Law, prevails to the fullest extent, the sons of a deceased son taking the share which their father would have taken had he lived; and so on according to the case throughout the whole agnatic tree. The general rule is that the sons divide the inheritance equally. They take *pagvand*, according to

\* See McLennan, "Studies in Ancient History" (first series, 1876), p. 8.

turbans—the exact equivalent of the Roman expression *per capita*. But sometimes the shares are divided according to the number of mothers, the sons, however few, of one mother taking and dividing between them the same share as the sons, however many, of any other widow of the deceased father. This method of division is called *chündavand* from *chünda*, which is said to mean a braid of hair.

As regards the power of disposal of property, gifts and adoptions are customary modes, permissible in some cases, of appointing an heir. But generally on this point I cannot do better than follow Sir Charles Roe in quoting a judgment delivered by Sir Meredyth Plowden in 1893: "It is," he said, "a common feature of Customary Law throughout the Province that no individual, whether or not he has male issue, is, under ordinary circumstances, competent, by his own sole act, to prevent the devolution of ancestral land in accordance with the rules of inheritance, that is, upon his male descendants in the male line, if any, or, failing them, upon his agnate kinsmen, in order of proximity. The exercise of any power which would affect the operation of these rules to the detriment of the natural successors to ancestral land, is liable to be controlled by them, whether the act done be a partition, or a gift, or a sale or mortgage otherwise than for necessity," or, as appears from the judgment, an adoption.

Bearing in mind this general sketch of the outlines of the system we may pass on to some criticisms upon the conclusions of Sir Henry Maine which the system itself has suggested to Sir Charles Roe. It appears to me that the course taken here is one which, in the interests of science, Sir Henry Maine himself would have approved. The luminous generalisations which have entitled him to rank as the foremost of comparative jurists in this country spread over the East and the West; his genius turns, like a revolving light, now to this and now to that quarter of possible horizon; and wherever it turns, it vastly

stimulates the scientific imagination. But he would doubtless have admitted that working hypotheses in sociology ought to be tested by comparison with actual facts exhibited in living groups of mankind. On several points Sir Charles Roe has rendered us this service; and though I do not propose to enter on discussions each of which would need a paper to itself, it is my desire to call attention to some of these points because they indicate the sort of material which the study of Punjab Tribal Law may yield.

Thus prominent on the brilliant pages of *Ancient Law* stands forth the Patriarchal theory, so ably controverted in the posthumous work of the late Mr. J. F. McLennan edited and completed by his brother.\* The family, says Sir Henry Maine, is the type of an archaic society; but, he adds, "the patriarchal authority of a chieftain is as necessary an ingredient in the notion of the family group as the fact (or assumed fact) of its having sprung from his loins." Further on (p. 138) he regards the *patria potestas* of the Romans as "necessarily our type of the primeval paternal authority" and he takes the power of the father to be the foundation of agnatic kinship.

Sir Charles Roe has not attempted to deal fully and decisively with the question of *patria potestas* in Punjab Tribal Law; but it is quite clear from several expressions in his book that so far he has not found the *potestas* amongst the tribes of the Punjab; indeed, he has found (p. 22) at least one important principle of Tribal Law which is, in his opinion, inconsistent with it. If we may assume that the *patria potestas* does not exist amongst these tribes, the point tells in favour of the views of Mr. McLennan; because it would then be clear that we had come upon a well-defined and operative system of agnatic kinship wholly unconnected with the Power of the Father as developed in Roman Law. This would go to confirm Mr. McLennan's view that agnation is not necessarily correlated with the *patria potestas*.

\* *The Patriarchal Theory*, based on the papers of the late J. F. McLennan. Macmillan, 1885.

Again, in the second volume of the Punjab Customary Law series there is an elaborate discussion of the theories advanced respectively by Sir Henry Maine and M. de Lavaleye on the process by which collective ownership of the soil is commuted to individual ownership. According to M. de Lavaleye we had first the tribe, then the clan or village, next the house community, and lastly individual property. But according to Sir Henry Maine, the joint family comes first, then the house community, then the village. The conclusion arrived at was that neither theory exactly fitted the Punjab facts, but that the process there was marked by the stages of the tribe, the village, the joint family, in that order. This view is substantially confirmed by Sir Charles Roe, though he guards himself against accepting it for any country but the Punjab.

From the theory (*Ancient Law*, p. 5) that we find the germ or rudiment of custom in the *themistes* or judgments which were supposed to be suggested to kings or patriarchal chiefs by divine agency, Sir Charles Roe expresses a decided dissent. His dissent, however, relates to the origin of Customary Law, not to its development at a late stage of growth by successive decisions. According to the theory propounded by Sir Henry Maine we arrive at the epoch of Customary Law when a juristical oligarchy supersedes a patriarchal chieftain and substitutes for the judgments pronounced by the chief, and attributed to superhuman dictation, its own monopoly of knowledge of the law. Sir Charles Roe holds that "amongst the tribes of the Punjab the agency for deciding disputes was not a personal chief or judge, but the brotherhood or the committee of the brotherhood known on the frontier tribes as the *jirga* and in the Punjab generally as the *panchayat*." He also considers that the principles of Customary Law were in the possession of these primitive tribunals before the decisions were framed; and were not merely deductions from a number of decisions to the same effect. In this last proposition, for reasons which it would take too long to state



here, I agree. But I think we have had in the Punjab patriarchal chieftains acquiring, or on the way to acquire, sovereign power whose decisions might override custom ; and I would put what is substantially the same criticism another way by saying that our epoch of Customary Law is not the same as Sir Henry Maine's epoch. The King has so little appeared that even our Chief Judge has not been able to find him ; and most certainly we have not the juristical oligarchy superseding the king. There are no Brehons to remember or declare the Punjab Tribal Law. It was and is known to the tribesmen themselves, and before our day they themselves administered it.

Now what is the thread of connection which runs through these criticisms offered in the light of Punjab Tribal Law ? It is the tribal origin of law and the tribal origin of property taken with the gradual disintegration of the tribe consequent on the change of life from the mere predatory or pastoral stage to agriculture. There was no need for the *patria potestas*, because the common sentiments of the tribal group declared by the *jirga* or *panchayat* had sufficient coercive power. The change I have mentioned has actually occurred amongst many tribes within memory and the succession of the village to the tribe and of the joint family to the village may now, I think, be regarded as well established. Lastly no oligarchy of jurists is required because the fundamental principle is a simple one, namely, that the proprietor for the time being has a life interest in land over which an agnatic group also has rights enforced more or less consistently according to the degree of clan or village or family cohesion. To apply this principle by tribal methods before Courts of Justice are set up it is not necessary to know much law ; but it is necessary to remember the family genealogy so that the distribution of any inheritance may be effected in accordance with ancestral shares. This effort of memory, so long as clans and families continue to hold together, is well within the competence of unlettered men. In making these remarks I intend to suggest merely a Punjab theory to cover Punjab

facts. I am not discussing here any general theories of the origin of law or the origin of property ; I only desire to point to a source from which may be derived some materials for such discussions.

So far I have been considering the effect of the evidence available in Sir Charles Roe's book upon certain theories of Sir Henry Maine. It will have become apparent that Punjab tribal institutions are of an early type; and it remains to show how the study of them bears upon certain matters of practical importance in administration.

Here I will quote Sir Henry Maine again; and this time I will take one of those luminous generalisations to which I referred just now. "Anciently," he says,\* "the power of contracting is limited on all sides. It is limited by the rights of your family, by the rights of your distant kinsmen, by the rights of your co-villagers, by the rights of your Chief, and, if you contract adversely to the Church, by the rights of the Church." For obvious reasons we may eliminate the Church and the Chief: the rest of the remark is abundantly confirmed by the Punjab evidence.

In Sir Charles Roe's book two things stand out in bold relief. First he gives to restraints on alienation a proper prominence, which was not done when the present methods of tribal inquiry were elaborated in 1879-80. Secondly, in dealing with one of these restraints—the law of pre-emption—he points out that it is essentially a part of the Tribal Law, not a mere village custom, still less a reproduction or modification of the rules which, under Muham-madan Law, go by the same name.

The Punjab Laws Act treats pre-emption as a village custom. The right is presumed to exist in all village communities, but blood-relationship is expressly recognised as conferring the right only in the case of villages held on ancestral shares. Moreover, low down in the order of pre-emptors the law admits any landholder of the village; and thus allows mere money-lenders to come in, who are proprietors in the village by purchase only and have no tie of

\* "Early History of Institutions," pp. 57, 58.

kinship with the original owners. The Chief Court has taken what I venture to regard as a sounder view in a judgment of 1895. It is there laid down that "as a general rule, among the landowning tribes of the Punjab, the holder of ancestral land, whether or not he has male issue, has not a wholly unrestricted power to dispose of such land at pleasure and in the absence of necessity, and when any control over a land-holders' power to alienate ancestral land exists, it resides in the person who would, in default of alienation, take the land as heir." It is true that this judgment refers to the right of restraining alienation, whereas a claim to pre-emption admits that the vendor has the right to sell and only asserts that he is limited in his choice of a purchaser. But if we suppose that the original tribal law did not contemplate even the possibility of the sale of ancestral land, it is a reasonable relaxation of that law and one suitable to social advance, if the tribesmen could say to a fellow tribesman in difficulties—"We see that *of necessity* you must sell your land; but this being so, you must offer it first to one of us." If this view were approved, the right of pre-emption should, in the case of ancestral land, belong to the agnates in the order of their relationship.

To the words just used—"of necessity"—there attaches much social and political significance. Allowing that\* "ancestral immovable property is ordinarily inalienable except for necessity or with the consent of male descendants, or, in the case of a sonless proprietor, of his male collaterals," the pregnant question arises—in what does necessity consist? The Courts hold that the payment of the Government revenue, or the discharge of outstanding decrees or of just debts not incurred for immoral purposes are necessary purposes which will justify the sale of ancestral land. Partly in this way, partly in other ways, the law has delivered the *zamindar* into the hand of the *bania*; the peasant proprietor becomes indebted to the money-lender; the present law cannot save the land from the usurer's grip; and the danger appears of an agricultural

\* Rattigan, "Digest," § 59.

revolution slowly reversing the order of society and gradually degrading the fighting men of the dominant agricultural tribes into serfs of the despised trader.

The degree of this danger and the extent to which in the Punjab the old landholding tribesmen have already lost their lands are subjects of much official debate on which it is not necessary that I should here offer any opinion. It is sufficient to say that many officers of experience regard the danger as very real and the extent of transfer as considerable. No one doubts that it would be politically an advantage if we could keep the land in the hands of the old agricultural tribes. But this political object is identical with the main object of Punjab Tribal Law. The examination of early institutions in the Punjab leads us to the principle that the land must not leave the clan; so that if we could enforce that principle through the Courts the land could not be transferred to the money-lender.

Can we not take the opportunity of this coincidence and by legislation so apply the Tribal Law as to remedy the evil caused by numerous social and political changes and accentuated by the judicial definition of *necessity*? It has been suggested that all transfers by sale or mortgage of ancestral land should be subject to the sanction of some revenue authority, the law of pre-emption being at the same time amended and its administration placed in the same hands. I myself think that in the Punjab this plan would be effectual; it would certainly enable us to use for a political purpose the principles of Tribal Law; but the general question arises in other Provinces, and the suggestion I have mentioned is merely one amongst a multitude of proposals made by competent men. Whether that suggestion prove fruitful or no, I am at any rate certain of this: that in the Punjab our chance of dealing successfully with the intricate and important problem of the transfer of agricultural land is proportioned to our comprehension of the tribal institutions of the agriculturists themselves; and that comprehension in turn depends upon the application to social facts of scientific methods.

## ELEMENTS OF UNREST IN INDIA.

BY A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

IN my last article I proposed to consider the extent to which the conclusions therein arrived at have been borne out by subsequent events, which include chiefly the Poona murders, the Muhammadan riot in Calcutta, the troubles on our Indian Frontier, and the spread of a wave of Muhammadan enthusiasm over India. The conclusions in question may be re-stated as follows :—An element of antagonism to British rule in India is to be found in the religion of the Hindus. It is controlled by the priests whose interests have not been, as yet, identified with loyalty to Government. To make their power dangerous, it is, however, necessary that they should be in a position to persuade the people, not only that the gods are angry, but also that they are prepared to help their champions. Natural calamities are traditionally the means by which the deities declare their wrath. These have been provided in the past year, and happen to have coincided with the period of a Hindu revival, under the influence of which the people are unusually susceptible to religious impressions. Circumstances may thus far aid religious leaders ; but, to arouse the people effectually, they still need the means to show that the gods will fight with them against the British : and, in the present state of British power in the country, there seems to be no chance of this, unless the British are openly embarrassed by European complications, or the threat of an invasion of India. Short of such a contingency the people may be led to petty outbreaks only where the controlling authority happens to be weak, or the dormant energy of Hindu religious enthusiasm is exceptionally strong.

The obvious criticism that these conclusions suggest in connection with recent events is that outbreaks are in the main attributable to Muhammadans, not to Hindus : the second, that they are explicable on other grounds than

that of a deep-seated antagonism. Let me proceed to examine the criticism in question.

I will only refer to some characteristic details connected with THE POONA MURDERS. The important features of their occurrence were certain alleged evidences of pre-arranged conspiracy, such as the extinguishing of the street lamps, the change in the numbers affixed to the carriages at Government House, and, in particular, the murder, a few days later, of a Police Inspector employed in the investigation of the crimes. The organization of the conspiracy has been attributed to the Mahratta Brahmins, or rather to some members of their large community. The plague operations had been especially obnoxious to them, and had formed for many months previously the subject of the bitterest criticism in the native papers, which they are said to control. The promoters of the so-called cult of Sivaji, the Mahrattas' national hero, which had been established in the Brahmins' interests, because a chief characteristic of his policy had been a calculated deference to his spiritual advisers, had held a celebration a week before the murders, when speeches glorifying assassination for a national object had been uttered. The flimsy chain of connection to which these circumstances point acquires some strength from a consideration of past history. Not to go further back than the time of Sivaji, when that politic adventurer emphasized their importance in order to rely on their support, the Brahmins attained a position which enabled them without difficulty to usurp the administrative function from his weaker successors. They thus acquired over political affairs the control which they already exercised in social and religious matters, and were supreme in the Mahratta confederacy when its power was greatest. This ascendancy they were compelled to surrender when the British dominion was established. It seems natural that they should resent the supplanting of their power, and that the resentment should grow stronger as the chances of recovering their former position became weaker under the

varied influences of British rule. It would have been of no avail for them to assert themselves on the strength merely of their traditional authority; so it is said that they needed some sort of popular grievance in the name of which they could appeal to the people. They, therefore, are alleged to have fastened on the anti-Muhammadan agitation of recent years, and to have introduced the cult of Sivaji as a cover to the propagation of charges of tyranny and greed against the dominant race. To them the plague operations were, it is asserted, a unique opportunity, which, as the utterances of their inspired press have shown, they were not slow to appreciate. Mere verbal protestations, however, would have left them weaker than before, if not confirmed by some sort of action.

Viewed in this light it was not an unreasonable hypothesis that the Brahmins, or some members of that Caste, were responsible for the organization of the crimes. They seemed to have a motive, which was not apparent with any other class or individual. It is worth recording that Muhammadans in the neighbourhood of Poona were very demonstrative in repudiating any sympathy either with the crimes or the complaints that had preceded them.

The probability of this hypothesis does not appear to be, as yet, shaken by the confession of Damodar Chapekar. His statement, although detailed and plausible, is admittedly made by a man with a craze for notoriety, which he had hitherto failed to satisfy by more legitimate, or rather, less outrageous, methods. Nor does it account, in the versions which I have seen, for those accompaniments of the crime that seem to point to conspiracy. Damodar's explanation of these must be awaited before his statement can be accepted as complete. In other respects, it seems to be in accordance with the hypothesis, because a more perfect tool could hardly have been found by the alleged conspirators than a man of this character, who would not only dare the deed, but also be glad to take the whole credit of it to himself.

The CALCUTTA RIOT was in all respects a different matter. A Muhammadan guardian was in contested charge of a small piece of land, in the corner of which stood a small construction which was used as a mosque. The agent of a London Company representing a Christian claimant in the ancient and highly-respected Hindu family that had long owned the land, obtained a decree for ejectment against the "*Matavalli*," and, in anticipation of trouble on religious grounds, invoked the assistance of the Police to execute the decree. The Muhammadan was sent for by the Commissioner of the Police, and persuaded to remove the Mosquelet himself. He proceeded, in fact, to do so, but was advised by others to desist. There was however no preparation for resistance, and when the Police came with the Civil Court officers, no obstruction was offered—but on the evening of the following day, a Muhammadan mob assembled on the spot, apparently with the object of rebuilding the hut, and declined to disperse on the arrival of the Police. They were accordingly charged and driven off, leaving some of their number under arrest. Next mid-day they reassembled, and the rest of this and of the following day or two was occupied in intermittent attacks by the rioters on isolated bodies of Police, in retaliating incursions by the latter and the patrolling troops, and in determined assaults on all Europeans who ventured within the disturbed area. By the third or fourth day order was restored in Calcutta itself; but, a few days later again, it was reported that the Muhammadans, employed in mills on the river above Calcutta, were coming down *en masse* to re-enforce the rioters, and the troops were once more called out to turn them back: a task which they had no difficulty in effecting.

The leading features of the disturbance were: first, the evident want of organization amongst the rioters; secondly, its dissociation from any press agitation; thirdly, its obvious motive; fourthly, its early repudiation by respectable Muhammadans; fifthly, the absence of any tendency to



destroy property or to loot; and, lastly, the undoubted animosity displayed towards Europeans. The want of organization is apparent from the absence of resistance when the Police came to deliver possession, the care with which Muhammadans from other parts of Calcutta were prevented from joining forces with the rioters, their want of firearms, and the fact that reinforcements from outside the city did not attempt to join them till long after the riot had been suppressed. As for the press, there is only one Muhammadan organ in Calcutta, and that did not contain a hint beforehand that any sort of disturbance was in contemplation. The spontaneous nature of the motive was admitted by Muhammadans themselves, including those who posed as representatives of the mob in the matter. The construction was contested not to be a mosque because built on land not lawfully occupied. The repudiation of the riot by respectable Muhammadans seems genuine, because it is improbable that they would care to be associated with the lower orders in an unsustainable cause, and also because the proclamations issued by those who assumed to represent the mob are said to have been marred by grammatical mistakes which no educated Muhammadan would have made. The absence of any attempt to destroy property distinguishes the rioters from an ordinary town rabble, just as their marked animosity towards Europeans is in contrast with their demeanour towards Hindus.

The first explanation of the disturbance was that the rioters had been encouraged by a recollection of the Sham bazaar riot in 1891 in Calcutta, which arose over a precisely similar dispute, and ended without the punishment of any of the offenders. In that case, the land on which the supposed mosque had stood was ultimately surrendered by the Hindu owner; and it appears that the rioters on the present occasion openly encouraged each other with the assurance that, if they persisted, they would again win their point. But this does not explain the vigour of the anti-European demonstrations to sensation-mongers.

A series of foolish pseudonymous letters appeared in the English newspapers, regarding the exaggerated rumours of the Turkish successes in Greece which had reached Calcutta. It was even said that many of the rioters "believed" that the SULTAN and the AMIR were marching an army to help them. Supposed conversations with Muhammadan shopkeepers were related, in which confidence had been expressed that the followers of Islám were about to recover the rule of India, with the help of the Turks. One correspondent, a *Shiah* Muhammadan, and a member of the King of Oude's family, wrote that a movement to win over India for the AMIR was being widely propagated in the country by *Sunni* emissaries from Kabul and elsewhere, and said that his own views as a member of the *Shiah* community had been sounded on the subject. About the time\* of the riot, Muhammadan Associations all over India happened to despatch congratulatory telegrams to the Sultan on his victories, and so it was seriously stated in certain Anglo-Indian newspapers that he was taking advantage of these messages to divert the allegiance of the Indian Mussulmans to himself. It was even reported that both the Sultan and the Amir were considering the doctrine, if not the advisability, of a *Jihád* in the sense of a joint "holy war" against infidels in India.\*

\* All this is irrelevant to the question of the cause of the Calcutta riot. This sudden rising, which a sympathetic explanation from the authorities could easily have suppressed, was obviously due to a decree of a British court in favour of a non-Muhammadan claimant, practically a British Company, regarding a plot on which stood a little Mosque. This decree, which naturally gave offence, followed by its destruction, was supposed to be an outrage, which, under the circumstances, exasperated the ignorant Muslims against Europeans generally, whilst there was no hostility against Hindus. Had the London Company waived their contested technical right in such a small property, their adjoining land would have undoubtedly increased in value by such a concession to religious Muhammadan feeling. As for the Hindus, they are always prepared to make such concessions to places of worship for other creeds and, in this very instance, some members of the venerable and illustrious Tagore family, the real owners, nobly offered to the Muhammadans to erect a finer Mosque for the one that had been destroyed under what, we fear, was a misconception or

In considering such an allegation, a line should be drawn between these rulers themselves and the representatives of the Muhammadan priesthood, if such a term can be applied to the Mullah Class, around them. Each potentate has his worldly liabilities, with which he cannot afford to play fast and loose as if he were an irresponsible Maulvi: and we know that, in Afghanistan at least, such fanatical preachers have been most troublesome in the past to the Amir and his predecessors. It is unlikely that either he or the Sultan would initiate agitations which might let loose a flood of fanaticism, over which they would have no manner of control. It is no less evident that they are obliged to keep in touch with the religious element; and, of course, it is only natural that they should show such deference to a passing phase of enthusiasm, as the discussion, for instance, of the doctrine of JIHAD implies, and that the Sultan, at any rate, should feel gratified at the tribute of compliments received from India. It does not appear at present desirable, in the interests of either, that they should themselves embark in any compromising action, since their importance is sufficiently accentuated without their doing so. Indeed, it is likely that certain of the "less learned" members of the Muhammadan priesthood should be exploiting the Turkish successes and the Amir's conquest of the Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush, or adopting the rumoured support of their great secular leaders, as a lever for agitation. We may be more sure that there are ignorant and fanatical Muhammadan "laymen," who would welcome such rumours, and eagerly fan any flame of popular excitement.

I may now refer to the small outbreak amongst the Moplahs in Malabar; to the Moulvi prosecuted for seditious speeches at Lucknow; to certain Muhammadan newspapers in the North-West Provinces that have

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mistake. A reference to arbitration of a matter in which religious sentiment was concerned would, no doubt, have been better than going to Law, whilst the military demonstrations of force which the panic-stricken invariably urge whenever a local disturbance occurs in India that they cannot understand, do not add to the prestige of the administration.—*Ed.*

been ostentatiously disloyal. There have been reports of symptoms of "disaffection" in other places. Apart from the frontier risings, all such incidents, simultaneous but disconnected, appear to me only the indications of a dormant spirit of antagonism.

The existence of latent animosity amongst their Indian fellow-subjects is a fact that Englishmen are naturally loath to accept. Conscious that they govern with the most benevolent intentions, they are unwilling to believe that their endeavours to win the appreciation of the people do not meet with the expected success; and their representatives in India are equally averse to acknowledge the presence of conditions, that may at once be made the ground for a charge of mismanagement against themselves. The consequence is, that they have constantly closed their eyes to symptoms of disaffection, and that fatal results have followed, of which the most notable instance is the Mutiny of 1857. The only remedy is a greater knowledge of, and a sympathy with, Indian indigenous conditions.

It is worth while to consider the share taken by the native papers as among "elements of unrest." At Poona the NATIVE PRESS, in conjunction with the cult of Sivaji and other demonstrations, has been accused as indirectly responsible for the murders; whilst it clearly had no concern with the Calcutta riot. It is difficult to understand at Poona the exact function the Press performed. On the one hand, the murders happened to be preceded by a series of "disaffected" utterances. On the other, equally violent writings on previous occasions have led to no outrages; whilst many outbreaks have occurred which were not in any way promoted by seditious writing. The traditional means of incitement to violence in India, those which in consequence appeal best to the people, *are secret meetings, not public ones*; leaflets, to a small extent, or symbols passed from hand to hand; letters largely, and the immense and admirably adapted agency of roaming mendicants. These do not defeat their object by a premature disclosure, as do writings

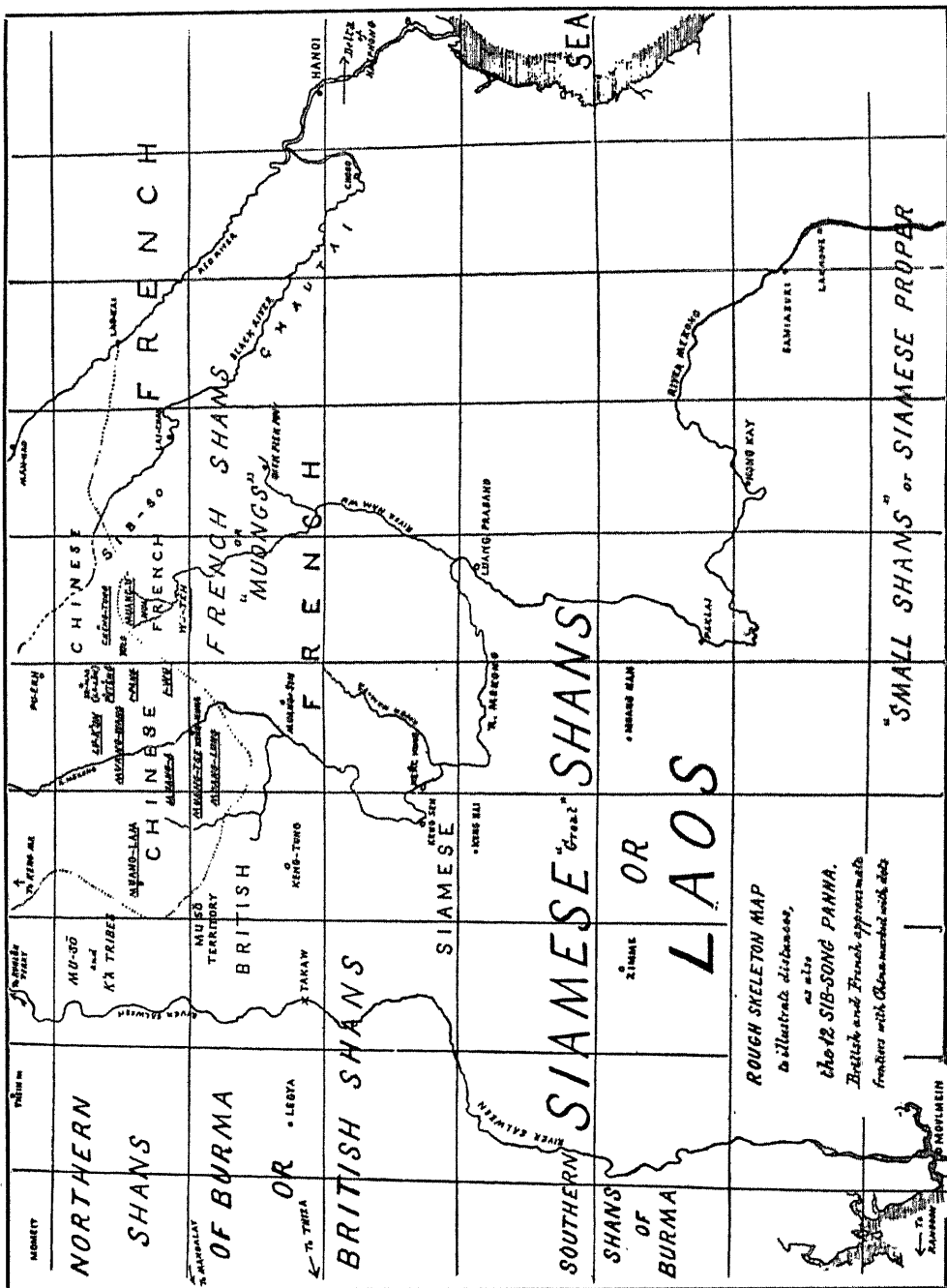
in the press. If the Maratha papers had not been said to be in the hands of the Brahmins, we could understand that the writers wished to pose as leaders of popular feelings; and that it suited the Brahmins that they should do so, provided that they were not actually aware of the plans of the conspirators. Such a course would conciliate an ally by playing on his vanity whilst providing a screen of protection. It *may* be that the newspaper writers were so utilized by the more violent agitators. It would certainly seem as if Professor Gokhalé had been duped: and it is not incompatible with this suggestion that the speeches at the Sivaji demonstration were delivered by Professors, and responded to by schoolboys. It, certainly, does *not* appear to have been a very popular propaganda. Of course, it *may* have been that the newspapers were used more directly by the leading agents as *one* means of fomenting public feeling; but it is altogether at variance with the wise and mild traditions of the cleverest Caste in India that they should, as a body, have run any risk of danger by any premeditated violent breach of the law. In the midst of this uncertainty, the most that one can say is, that seditious writing is not a necessary preliminary to outrage; and that the source of disaffection is not likely to have been reached by the prosecution of native editors. It is reasonable however to suppose that, just as their "seditious" compositions may be, and in the present case, have been, symptomatic of real disaffection, so the measures taken to repress them may symbolize to the people at large the power that is present to control more extensive demonstrations.

Space does not permit of many words on the FRONTIER TROUBLES. The tendency has been, to attribute them to a single cause; and the cause commonly selected has been "the forward policy," which means in this connection the intrusion of our presence upon independent tribes who resent it. It has also been suggested that these risings have been inspired by the Sultan, and the Amir; and that they are of

the nature of JIHÁD. It is true that the Sultan might interpose with greater facility to arouse the border tribes, than to inspire disaffection amongst our undoubted subjects in India: but otherwise the considerations already set forth apply to the improbability of his interference. The Amir's position is more definite. By coquetting with the doctrine of "Jihád" he may have misled the tribes into *expecting* his support. He has not committed himself by *giving* it, and they have lost. He has thus been able to point out to them that they cannot make war on the British without his aid; at the same time, he has saved his future influence by declaring that, when the time for "Jihád" comes, it will be announced. He has simultaneously been able to show the British what a flood of trouble he might have poured upon them had he been so disposed. He has thus impressed on each side their dependence on him, and has so strengthened his position with both.

It seems probable then that the outbreak is merely the result of Muhammadan animosity, provoked by our recent invasion of the tribes' territories. This has been made the standpoint for a general assault on our forward policy. In approaching this question we should realize two important conditions; the first,\* that our progress throughout India has been marked by the repeated assimilation of "protected States"; and that, geographically speaking, we may not yet have reached the limit of our capacity in this respect; the second, that there has been a distinct advance during the past twenty years in the elements of the problem. Our progress in the assimilation of "protected states" *within* India has been made through, and over, as damaging and discreditable episodes as any that we have been concerned in on the frontier; and has been often in defiance of our declared policy. We have been led by circumstances, and have not controlled them. The elements of the problem have taken a more definite shape by the separation of the

\* "The Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India" (Sir Alfred Lyall).



ROUGH SKELETON MAP  
to illustrate distances,  
etc. etc.  
the 12 SIS-SONG PANNA.  
British and French approximate  
frontiers with China marked with dots

"SMALL SHANS" or SIAMESE PROPER

## THE KENG-HUNG CONTENTION— UPPER MÉKONG TRADE.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE principality of Ch'éli, about which Great Britain, France, and China have recently had so much to say, and which usually goes by the name of Keng-hung, was first reduced by Kublai Khan, six hundred years ago, when General Uriang Kadai marched through that state on his way to attack Annam. (If the Chinese ever use the word Keng-hung at all, it is only in reference to a river of that name, a tributary of the Mékong, apparently between Keng-hung and P'u-êrh Fu.) Nearly a century later the Mongols were driven out of China, and in 1382 the ruler of Ch'éli, who then bore the surname of Tao or Tiao, as he does now, gave in his submission to the *ex*-priest who had just founded a new and purely Chinese dynasty. This Shan ruler was created autochthonous prefect of Ch'éli, a name derived from the more ancient native appellations of that region, Ch'anli and Sali, and until the Emperor's death very friendly relations were kept up with the Tao family. In 1403 there were some little political difficulties, but as the third Chinese Emperor was himself a usurper, (which fact may, indeed, have caused the incursion complained of), he was glad to patch up a peace, in order to avail himself of his vassal's assistance in punishing the contiguous Laos tribes of Pa-pêh Ta-Tien, and accordingly consented to an arrangement under which tribute was to be sent every three years. Disputes about the succession arose shortly after this, and for a time the principality was split up into two rival divisions. However, this was all satisfactorily arranged in due course, and in 1441 we find Ch'éli assisting China against the Chinese Shan rebel Sz-lun-fa, known to the Burmese as Thonganbwa. Disputes about the Ch'éli succession were renewed, and in 1470 the Annamese King



occupants of the territory lying between the borders of India proper and of Russian Central Asia, who were in Lord Lawrence's time dealt with as one group, into two distinct bodies ; namely, the inhabitants of Afghanistan proper, and the collection of tribes now lying between its demarcated boundary and India. It is in accordance with the principles of our advance hitherto that Afghanistan should form the buffer state between India and Russian Central Asia. If it is to perform this function, we are told that we must be in a position to dominate it ; and it is alleged that we cannot do so until we have the intervening tribes under our absolute control. Whether this is so or not is scarcely a question within the immediate scope of this paper.



took advantage of these dissensions to tamper with Ch'éli loyalty, and to offer a title : it is perhaps upon this unsuccessful effort that French pretensions were based, for in 1889 M. Camille Gauthier recommended to his Government the installation of a French agent there, whilst M. Nicolai even claimed all the Shan states for France. In 1533 a new Taungu dynasty was founded in Burma by Tabeng Shwet'i, whose name is often confused in Chinese history with that of his successor Bureng Naung. Any way, the Chinese standard history of the Ming dynasty distinctly states that after this new Burmese house had conquered Pegu "and the other barbarians," the ruler of Ch'éli also went over to the Burmese side ; and from that time dates the division into Greater and Lesser Ch'éli, the former belonging to Burma and the latter to China. (In the absence of exact information, I am inclined to think that this Lesser Ch'éli is the region lying between the Black River and Keng-hung, and now known as Sib-song Chao-thai, for I am almost certain the ruler of that region, Tiao Wên-chi (Tiêu Văn-tri) told me his ancestors' dominion once formed part of Ch'éli. He has now abandoned China for France.) In 1585, however, the autochthonous chieftain of Muang Shung or Yüan-kiang (under the prefect of which place Ch'éli used to be in Mongol times) persuaded the ruler of Burmese or Greater Ch'éli to come back, and accordingly he was once more received into Chinese arms. But in 1627 a war between the Ch'éli chief and Burma again broke out, this time on account of the former having afforded military assistance to his southern neighbour Keng Tung : the ruler had to fly to Sz-mao, and Ch'éli was lost to China for good. I may here state that the Chinese never call Keng Tung by any other name than Muang Kên, *i.e.*, the country of the Ghôn family. As to Sz-mao, it is written phonetically in the older histories, and was ascertained on the spot by Mr. Bourne to mean "old blood" in the Lolo tongue.

The above sketch, it will be understood, represents

Keng-hung as it stood under the Ming dynasty, *i.e.* between the fall of the Mongols in 1368 and the rise of the Manchus in 1643. Siam is mentioned once—in 1440—as having attacked a Laos state bordering upon Ch'éli, and the Burmese conqueror Tabeng Shwet'i, in his attack upon Zimmé, permanently removed the said Laos state from Chinese influence: the state in question appears to have been Keng-sen, and probably part of what is now called Nan: possibly even Luang Prabang; but this point is obscured by there having been a sub-division of the old Pa-pêh Si-fu or "800 wife" state entitled Pa-pêh Ta-tien. Be that as it may, neither Annam nor Siam ever occupied the Ch'éli of the Mékong, which state was always alternately or jointly Chinese and Burmese; in the end permanently lost to China until comparatively recent days.

The Manchus had barely settled themselves comfortably upon the Chinese throne before the chieftain of Ch'éli sent in his submission: this was in the year 1660; and two years later the same chieftain reported the flight to and death in Keng-sen of the last supporters of the Ming pretender, whom Burma had been forced to surrender to China. These events had directed the Chinese attention to the importance of P'u-êrh and Esmok or Sz-mao as strategical positions: they had marched into Burmese dominions as far as Thibaw, and had discovered the silver mines of Muang Lem, Keng-ma, and the Wa chieftaincy of Prince Hulu, besides the important salt-wells of Muang-wu, Muang-la, and the head waters of the Nam-t'a river, which three places are in that part of Keng-hung lying east of the Mékong. Certain disturbances which took place in 1725 decided the Chinese to turn the city of Wei-yüan (north-west of P'u-êrh) into a regulation district, having two salt-inspectors under the magistrate: an assistant-magistrate was stationed at Muang Pan (Lat. 21.55, Long. 101.30) and military guards at P'u-êrh, Wei-yüan, and the Tea Hills. These hills, which produce the delicious P'u-êrh tea (purchasable in cakes, like bundles of huge gingerbread, at

Bhamo) are situated in the *panna* of I-wu, between I-pang, Yu-lo, and Muang-wu, and of course the Chinese have not given these over to the French. A watch station, or Customs inspectorate, was placed at the "port of the Mékong River," by which seems to be indicated the town of Keng-hung itself. At this point the Mékong is known to the Chinese as the Kiu-lung, a name possibly derived from the founder of the Ai-lao or Shan race, so-called.

In 1727 we find still in use the old name Ailao, applied generically to the Shans: the viceroy states that the city of Chên-yüan (north of Wei-yüan) leads on to the Ailao, and that the Tea Hills were not open enough for military evolutions. This led to the establishment in 1729 of a new prefecture at P'u-êrh, with a sub-prefect at Sz-mao or Esmok, and an assistant sub-prefect at Yu-lo (lying about 45 miles from I-pang, which is 30 from I-wu): there were also established two salt-officers at Muang-wu and Chêng-tung: this last-named *panna* is the only one of the twelve whose position cannot be indicated, but it seems to lie north of Muang-pan on the head waters of the Nam-la river. All these officers were placed under the prefect of P'u-êrh, which now ceased to belong to Yüan-kiang (north-east of P'u-êrh). Between 1731 and 1734 a rebel of the Tao family (which surname is common to nearly all the other Shan states mentioned on the east of the Mékong, and in its correct form of Tiao I think must be the Shan word Chao "a prince") advanced as far as T'alang, a city also north-east of P'u-êrh: after peace had been restored, the assistant sub-prefect was transferred from Yu-lo to Sz-mao, and the sub-prefect of this last city was abolished. Wei-yüan city was now placed under Chên-yüan Fu. In 1746 it was reported that as many as 30,000 persons were at work at the silver mines belonging to the Wa prince Hulu. The Chinese speculator at the head of these mines, which were contiguous to and only separated by a river from similar Burmese mines, seems to have persuaded one or more of the competitors for power in Burma to send tribute to

China, or to have made the Emperor think so for a time. In one place the Chinese call the King, Mangtala, in another Maha Tsu, and the dates vary between 1750 and 1753: the last Burmese king of the Taungu line was Mahâ Dhamma Rajâ Dibati, and his Shan successor was Mengtarâ Buddha Kethi, in 1740: but here again the Burmese way of calculating years may account for the discrepancy. In any case the sending of tribute by either of those kings in particular is not mentioned by the imperial annals (*Tung-hwa Luh*), which simply record the reception of Burmese envoys with tribute in 1751; the flight of Mangtala in 1754 before a Talaing rebellion; and the confiscation of the Chinese speculator's wealth for mixing himself up in foreign affairs: in any event it was not the Alompra dynasty which sent tribute, if indeed any one did so at all.

After his defeat by Burma in 1767-8, the Emperor began to look up his local history: he discovered that what was then called "the chieftaincy of the Kiu-lung River" (Mékong) was the ancient Ch'êli, and that Tao Mu-t'ao, or Tao Meng-t'ao, had in 1660 been appointed chief of the twelve *panna*, he himself and his territory or appanage forming the thirteenth. This way of looking at it is apparently owing to the Chinese *ship-sam*, "thirteen," having been confused with the Siamese *sib-song*, "twelve." The Emperor enumerates the subordinate *panna* as follow:

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|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. P'u-t'êng.  | 5. Wu-têh.   | 9. Muang-tse.   |
| 2. Luh-k'un.   | 6. Muang-u.  | 10. I-pang.     |
| 3. Chêng-tung. | 7. Muang-la. | 11. I-wu.       |
| 4. Muang-wang. | 8. Muang-a.  | 12. Muang-lung. |

Here at last we are on solid ground. The *panna* of P'u-t'êng is the valley of the river of that name, which runs into the River Manta, south of Sz-mao and P'u-êrh, a tributary of the Loso river, a branch of the Nam-la, which joins the Mékong. The *panna* of Chêng-tung is the valley of the river of that name, which lies 60 English miles south-east of P'u-êrh and enters a tributary of the Mékong called the Nam-sa, which last is 80 English miles south of P'u-êrh,

and seems to form one of the sources of the Loso : this runs north of the Kotêng Tea Hill. The Tea Hill of Man-sa or Muang-sa is perhaps the region of the Nam-sa. The *panna* of Muang-wang presents a little difficulty, because it is written in two ways, and it is uncertain if the same place is in each case meant. In one Chinese gazetteer it is stated to be east of Esmok ; but Rocher's map is vague ; and other maps place it, or part of it, between Ipang and Esmok, and even make it straddle the Mékong. Wu-têh is simply Muang U-thai, on the right bank of the Nam-u, just as Muang-u is Muang-u Nûa on the left bank : both these have been made over to the French. The Burmese never went near them, and for many years the Chinese have abandoned or ignored them as though they considered them part of Sib-song Chao-thai (or Chu-thai). Muang-la, south-west of Esmok, is Muang-la thai or "South," just as Esmok is Muang-la Lôn or "Great" : both seem to be in the valley of the Nam-la, or Loso. Muang-a is usually coupled with Muang-tse, and is positively stated to be on the right bank of the Mékong : perhaps this is Rocher's Muang-ho. Muang-tse is in Lat. 22, Long. 100.25 according to the published blue-book map. The Tea Hill of I-pang is half-way between Esmok and the other Tea Hills of I-wu. Muang-lung is south-east of Muang-tse, not very far from Muang-hun. The only one of the twelve not identified at all is Luh-k'un, but it was the centre of fighting in 1767, and seems to be about 30 miles from Sz-mao, on the way to Muang Lem, west of P'u-t'êng.

After China's second failure to overcome Burma in 1769, we find the Emperor enquiring "if the thirteen *panna* still belong to China?" During these years of fighting the recognised ruler of Ch'êli was Tao Wei-p'ing, who appears to have been the fourth ruler since 1660, and his father's name was Tao Shao-wên. It was now decided to abolish the chieftaincy, as the two last rulers had proved themselves incompetent, and to establish instead a sort of military rule under a Chinese Major at Keng-hung : the twelve sub-

ordinate chiefs were to have rank as lieutenants or sergeants, and to receive salaries from China : a healthy site was selected for a residence,—evidently Talaw, or the Chinese town on the left bank, opposite Keng-hung city : there is, however, another Talaw between Keng-hung and Keng Tung, and some say the Chinese officer has recently resided at Muang-yang. The reason the Chinese abandoned Muang-wu, and have never settled in any numbers in either the Sib-song Panna or Sib-song Chao-thai is that they dread chills and fever. Many writers divide the former twelve districts into two sets of six on each bank of the Mékong, but it appears there are only four on the west side. The Chinese often call them collectively the "Twelve Muang," just as the French style the Sib-song Chao-thai or "Twelve Shan principalities" the "Twelve Muongs." The Chinese traders in salt and cotton go as far as Muang Lem and even Muang Kham in Keng Tung : beyond that the local Shans do all the trade between China and the Salween : probably with the consolidation of British rule trade will now become more general.

#### MUANG LEM.

The history of Muang Lem, previous to its first submission to China in 1406, is somewhat obscure. Shan traditions state that it was once the country of the Wa, and this is confirmed by the Chinese statement that its old name was Hawa ; by the fact that the northern part is still populated by the Wa ; and by the circumstance that the Chinese of to-day call these tribes the K'awa. Shan immigrants from the north-west drifted over during the wars of Kublai Khan, and settled in the lowlands of the Wa territory : all that is known of them from local tradition is that they bore the family name of Tao or Tiao, always followed by the syllable P'ai, which, like Tiao or Chao, is apparently a Shan word *pwai*, as seen also in the King of Siam's titles. Even this slender information gives us a sure footing, for in 1406 we find in later history the ruler Tao P'ai-sung sending his son



Tao P'ai-han to China. Both these names appear in Burmo-Shan tradition, as also the surrender to China in 1404; and if we make allowance for an error of a few years, caused probably by the Shans using the Burmo-Siamese era, we get a pretty accurate statement of corroborated fact. This Tao P'ai-han informed China that Muang Lem had formerly belonged to Luh-ch'wan, but was now under Muang-ting Fu: this, again, is good history, for the annals of Luh-ch'wan are well known to us in detail from 1260: it was the powerful Shan kingdom, known to the Burmese as Pong, which afterwards split up into a number of petty chieftancies: Muang Ting is the valley of the Nam Ting, or River Ting, which joins the Salween at the Kun-lôn Ferry. The next ruler was Tao P'ai-loh. After this it is admitted by China that Muang Lem slipped from her power, and for some time the little state was a prey alternately to her neighbours Theinni (called by the Chinese Muang-pang, or Mupang) and Keng Tung (called by the Chinese Muang-kên).

In 1730 Muang Lem first submitted to the Manchus. It appears that Alompra drove a tribe of Shans known in Burma as the Gwè Shans (Chinese "Kwei family") across the frontier into Muang Lem. The energetic wife of the Gwè chief then persuaded the ruler of Keng Tung to attack the principality of Keng-hung. In 1765 the Chinese began to take vigorous action, and soon succeeded in placing Keng-hung, Keng Tung, and Keng-chaing under chieftains devoted to Chinese interests. The Burmese answered this move by capturing Theinni and Keng-sen. The Muang Lem chief, Tao P'ai-ch'un, lost his life during this dispute, and his son, Tao P'ai-sien, was taken under Chinese protection. Desultory fighting between China and Burma went on in the four *pannas* lying to the west of the Mékong. During these struggles not only Keng-chaing and Keng-sen, but also Keng-hai, and even Zimmé, for a short time threw in their lot with China against Burma. The wild Kakui (K'a-kao) tribes actively fought the Chinese side.

Though the Manchu force very nearly reached Ava, on the whole it must be allowed that the Burmese thoroughly thrashed the Chinese in the campaign of 1767-8, for Zimmé, Keng Tung, and Keng-sen were entirely lost to China. Even Muang Lem and Keng-ma seem to have been left by the Chinese to take care of themselves, as well as Ch'éli to their south; for in 1790 the Keng-ma chief sends tribute direct to Peking, as though he were an independent or vassal ruler. In 1806 the Emperor declined to interfere in a dispute between the Siamese and Muang Lem. The chief Tao P'ai-kung had been killed, and the Chinese seal had been lost: the utmost the Emperor would do was to provide a new seal: at this date it is stated the Siamese had two posts "across the Mékong,"—probably in Muang Nan. As it was the Burmese who invited Chinese aid against Siam, it is evident that China half recognized the joint suzerainty of Burma over Muang Lem and Ch'éli: between 1807 and 1809 China on various occasions platonically discussed with Burma the suzerainty over Ch'éli. The Emperor confidentially instructed the Viceroy to "let matters stand" if the Burmese persisted in their views of condominium. At the time of Garnier's visit, Burmese and Chinese residents sat amicably on each side of the Ch'éli premier in the council-room. In 1836, according to Mr. Bourne, the Chinese interfered in some disputes touching the Ch'éli succession, but I cannot find any record of it in the *Tung-hwa Luh*: he also says that in 1884 the Chinese exercised their authority by removing the central chief and also the petty military officer of Luh-k'un. This was perhaps in consequence of French movements; but it was not until 1887 that Colonel Pernot took possession of Muang-lai in the Sib-song Chao-thai. France, England, Siam, and China have now divided the Shans between them, and the chance of any Tai race establishing a strong homogeneous power, like that of the Nan-chao their ancestors, has apparently gone for ever. Like the Poles, they have frittered away their potentialities in vain dissensions, and have been swallowed up by their neighbours.

## NAN-CHANG OR LANTCHIAN.

In 1729 the viceroy of Yün Nan reported that Tao-sun-king of Nan-chang, had sent tribute of elephants, and a scroll written upon leaves. The Emperor, in ordering the mission to be carefully escorted to Peking, mentions that this state has not hitherto had tribute relations. The chief of the mission bore the name of Pa-mêng-hwa: the next year, on his arrival at Peking, tribute was ordered every five years, and a letter of reply was sent to the King. In 1736 Nan-chang appears amongst the nations which sent tribute to Peking, and again in 1737, this last time probably on account of the new Emperor's accession. In 1741 she appears once more, but in 1743 the Emperor ordered the period to be made decennial in future on account of the great distance the envoys had to travel. In 1748 we find the Nan-chang language treated in the Peking interpreter office as separate from those of Siam and Pa-pêh (by which last Keng-sen and Nan seem to be meant). In 1749 Nan-chang sends tribute of ivory, and again in 1760. The King Sumala Satila Chuntikia Kungman sent a special mission to congratulate the old Empress on her birthday. Seeing that in 1766 the Chinese candidate for Keng Tung had to fly to Nam-chang, whence he made his way to the *panna* of Muang-tse, it is evident that Nan-chang in those days extended up to Ch'êli; and as the Chinese also speak of P'opang (Prabang) in Nan-chang, we are pretty safe in accepting the usually received view that Nan-chang sometimes corresponds with Luang Prabang. Zimmé and Keng-sen had a separate existence from Nan-chang at this date, and the Chinese tell us positively that Zimmé is identical with the old Pa-pêh, whilst Keng-sen is the Lesser Pa-pêh. Nan-chang must have included part at least of Sib-song Chu-thai, for Muang-t'ien (Dien-pien Phu) is mentioned as a Nan-chang village.

In 1781 the Emperor declined to take the part of Nan-chang in her struggles with Annam, but in 1791 the former is still found sending tribute to Peking; and again in 1799,

1805, and 1808. In 1809 the King of Annam reported that the ruler of Nan-chang, Chao Wên-mêng (who received a Chinese patent in 1797, had been for several years, owing to internal dissensions, an exile in the neighbourhood of Langson: the Emperor directs the King what to do; it is thus evident up to this date that Nan-chang was in no way subordinate to Annam. In 1810 both Annam and Nan-chang sent tribute, but the recognized ruler of the latter was Chao T'o-jung, the successful disputant; the chief who had fled to Annam was deprived of his patent, in accordance with the Chinese sentiment *væ victis*! In 1819 Chao Mangtatula, son of the usurper, was confirmed in the succession to his father, and duly sent tribute to Peking in 1820. In 1822 both Nan-chang and Siam figure in the list of homage bearers, and Siam with Burma in 1823. In 1841 the Nan-chang "chief" Chao Lama-niya Kungman sends envoys *via* Yün Nan to Peking, and their arrival is formally reported a few months later. From this time China finds herself in trouble with Europe, and of all her tributaries in the south Annam alone remains faithful: there was an Annamese envoy at Peking when I arrived there in 1869.

The annals of the present dynasty do not, except retrospectively, at all mention the Laos kingdoms of Lao-chwa and Pa-pêh Si-fu, which will be discussed in detail on another occasion. Nan-chang certainly took the place of the old Lao-chwa, and also of Lesser Pa-pêh or Keng-sen: perhaps also at times Muang-nan and all of Luang Prabang: the word *Kungman* in the names of the chiefs given above will perhaps throw light upon this question. Meanwhile it is well to understand that Nan-chang was the only Laos state known to Manchu-China which in any way bordered upon Yün Nan, *i.e.* upon Muang Lem or Keng-hung.

#### LESSER CH'ÊLI.

Though Sib-song Chao-thai is now French, a word may be said about it. The Chinese annals of the two last

centuries do not make the faintest mention of it as a separate state at any time; but this fact makes it all the more likely that it is simply the Lesser Ch'êli of old times, which Burma left to China after the partition of several centuries ago, and which China seems to have then tacitly abandoned to Nan-chang, or the first comer: in 1767 an Annamese political refugee is recorded to have sought safety in Muang-t'ien. The most important of the twelve *chao* are Muang-t'ien (Dien-pien Phu), Lai-chao (Muang-lai), and Chien-chang. Up to the end of the last century, this state was in practice quite independent, even of Nan-chang (Luang Prabang), and paid no tribute. During the Annamese reign 1820-1838 the King of Annam for a short period forcibly ruled the little state; but he lost both men and money over it, and under his successor, King Tu-duc, it gained its independence once more, only paying tribute to its stronger neighbours when threatened. During the Franco-Chinese war, the "Black Flags," or Hos, used to retreat when hard pressed to this region, which, according to M. Dumoutier, until quite recently paid tribute to China, Luang Prabang, and Annam simultaneously. Indeed Tiêu Văn-tri told me this himself. In 1886 the Siamese attempted to assert their "rights" (through Luang Prabang) upon Dien-pien Phu: they were driven out with the assistance of the Hos under the chief of Muang-lai, who then made a raid upon Luang Prabang itself, and reduced it to ashes. From Muang-t'ien it is but two days' journey to the Nam-wu River, upon the head waters of which are Wu-n'ia and Wu-thai. M. Paul Bert had already established a "Muong Province" at Cho-bo (Long. 105.20, Lat. 20.40) in 1886, and as soon as ever the Siamese fiasco at Luang Prabang took place the French troops moved up the Black River and occupied the whole Muong province. Thus it will be seen that there is nothing unreasonable in the French desire to possess the Nam-wu basin, which is useless to China, but which is of importance to France in order to round off her Laos possessions.

We may now venture upon a few words as to the way in which France may possibly utilise the advantages she has obtained.

#### TRADE ROUTES.

Lao-kai, or "Old Market," on the Red River at the Franco-Chinese frontier, is now in fairly regular steamer communication with the sea: from Lao-kai overland to Muang-lai (*i.e.* Lai-chao) on the Black River it is three days' journey; then two more to Dien-pien Phu; whence six to Luang Prabang down stream (eighteen up stream). M. Gauthier in his map (1889) has made two separate places of Theng and Dien-pien Phu; and has given two rivers; whereas they are one and the same place, and the same river, the Nam-ngwa. It is 200 kilometres from Theng to Luang Prabang, and about the same overland from Theng to Lao-Kai. This would probably be the best way for French imports, at least as far as Luang Prabang.

From Keng-hung, by way of I-wu (Chinese) to Muang-wu, is a six or eight days' journey overland; thence *via* Pufang to Muang-lai it is another six at least, if not eight; "journeys" in these parts mean 15 to 25 miles a day, according to weather and level.

M. Gauthier travelled all the way from Luang Prabang to the Khon cataracts (over 2,000 kilometres) by raft or boat, and it took him seven weeks of pushing travel to reach Saigon from Luang Prabang. It may be imagined what time the upward journey would take. The Mékong therefore is only available for such products (teak, caoutchouc, etc.) as can be floated leisurely down stream. The number of rapids, some really dangerous, between Luang Prabang and Nong-kay is very great: between Nong-kay and Kemmarat there are none to speak of, but they reappear between Kemmarat and Bassac. Of course when the Mékong is in flood the rapids mostly disappear, but the force of the current then makes it all the more difficult for steamers to breast the flood.

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The object of the French in utilising the Mékong River route is to divert the trade which now converges upon Bangkok (by way of the Ménam River, and overland *via* Korat) to Cambodgia and the French possessions. If the French commercial policy were less exclusive, probably every one would applaud a policy which gives alternative routes and prevents any unfair Siamese monopoly; but whilst every concession obtained for English trade is always fully shared by such Frenchmen (or any other foreigners) as care to avail themselves of it, the French no sooner obtain a little brief advantage in trading power than with suicidal persistency they at once strangle their possibilities by excluding all foreign capital or competition on equal or fair terms, and by imposing vexatious tariffs which prevent even traders of their own nation from profiting. M. Gauthier himself, who is as anti-English in his commercial views as it is possible to be, denounces the absurd French tariff:

“Le Laos possède des richesses incalculables. . . . Pour exploiter ces richesses. . . . il faut abolir le régime douanier. . . . L'application du tarif-général en Indo-Chine est désastreuse. . . . et sans aucun profit pour l'industrie métropolitaine. . . .”

No trade with any part of China or the Shan states west of the Salween can possibly go anywhere except to the Irrawaddy Valley *via* Momein, Sansi, and Myitkina; Momein and Bhamo; the line of the Lasho railway and Mandalay; Legya and Mandalay; Maulmein, or Zimmé. None of these routes can ever be much affected by French competition, however successful future French railways may be, and therefore it is unnecessary to discuss them further. The Siamese trade between Muang-lem, Keng Tung, Keng-hung, and Zimmé will never cause us any uneasiness, for even the Siamese are more reasonable in commercial matters than the French, who seem to forget in their denunciations of our “greed” that we take absolutely nothing for ourselves which they cannot freely share, whilst they on

their part give absolutely nothing to anybody which they think they may possibly monopolise for themselves.

The chief mart in the British Shan states is Keng Tung, which was visited by the Lagrée mission thirty years ago, and this place is about four degrees east of the British railway at Thiza, with which it is connected by a cart-road *viâ* the Takaw Ferry. It is about 500 miles, by the windings of the roads, from Keng-hung, *viâ* Keng Tung, Takaw, and Taung-gyi to the Mandalay trunk railway at Thiza : that means practically twenty days by bullock caravan ; and then a few hours by rail to Rangoon. The Salween is not navigable, but now that boundary questions are settled and the Shan states at peace after a quarter of a century of anarchy and ruin, it can hardly be doubted that before long a branch line of railway will be constructed from Thiza to Takaw, and thence in time to Keng Tung, just as a branch-line already connects Thiza with Meiktila to the west of it. Even if ultimately we should find it worth while to construct a railway *viâ* Zimmé to Moulmein, the west part of Siam will always belong to our "sphere."

The trade of Keng Tung and Keng-hung (the latter a busy ferry, but a much less considerable city than the former) is the only trade where there can well be any French competition with us. Even supposing we never had a railway *viâ* Takaw to Keng Tung (which certainly presents considerable engineering difficulty) we are still at Keng Tung a shorter distance in time from the sea than the French are, and besides Rangoon is from two to four weeks nearer London than Haiphong is ; moreover, the trade of our Shan states is already settled in fixed channels. The Chinese *termini* are Muang Lem, Keng-hung, and Keng Tung. The Burmese terminus was the Salween : eastwards of the Salween the trade is local. Then, again, it must be remembered that the Irrawaddy is always navigable for good-sized steamers for 900 miles, and at times for 1,200 or 1,300, whilst the Red River is never navigable beyond Man-hao (above Lao-kai) even for junks. A wreck on the Irrawaddy is almost an unheard of thing, though



dozens of steamers, each towing several enormous flats, pass all marts up and down daily. As yet the French have not got beyond a weekly passenger steamer service between Lao-kai and Yen-bai (above Hanoi); and even then during the winter season 1895-6 the small steamer *Baoha* had to be replaced by the still smaller *Passe-partout*. The Chinese that season lost 30 junks and \$30,000 worth of cargo, two-thirds of the losses having been suffered in ascending the river. At very high water the French ran a few steam cargo-boats, but the Chinese would have almost nothing to do with them, preferring junks even to go as far down as Hanoi.

There is easy access between China and Luang Prabang by way of the Nam-wu, the head waters of which the French have just secured, along with Muang-wu; but unfortunately there is nothing except salt and cotton produced either at Muang-wu, or in China north of it. The P'u-êrh and Sz-mao trade all goes to Keng-hung or Muang-lem, and even if the French could induce any to go *via* Muang-wu to Muang-lai, it would have to cross a wedge of Chinese territory.

Notices in the most recent native Chinese papers say that a French steamer has managed to get past the Keng-khung Rapids (Song-hu, Shang-lao, Hia-lao) to Keng-la and Keng-hung. Thus the efforts of Lieut. Simon to which attention was drawn last year (*French in Indo-China*) have been successful. There is probably not a soul in England knowing anything of the subject who does not admire this display of energy; nor one who would not rejoice at the French successes if they were not avowedly directed against our interests, and the interests of all but a few would-be monopolists. It is one thing, however, for a solitary steamer to struggle up to Keng-hung, and quite another to establish a regular trade between Keng-hung (not to say Keng Tung) and Luang Prabang. Still, let us suppose that by turning over a new leaf of policy the French really succeeded in creating easy communication between Keng Tung and Luang Prabang; what inducement is there

to take Keng Tung trade to Luang Prabang (or *vice-versa*)? Both Laos and Shans produce the same wares. How is the produce going to get to or away from Luang Prabang from or to the maritime outlets?

Nothing is more striking in Burma than the spectacle of the Mandalay-Rangoon railway, crowded with native passengers, quiet and orderly, thoroughly appreciating its advantages, bringing their little possessions to market; free from all hectoring, red-tape, poll-tax, and passports; rejoicing in personal and commercial liberty. It has opened up Upper Burma effectually, and transformed the face of the country. Probably the extensions from Sagaing to Myitkina, and from Mandalay towards Kunlôn have already had, are having, or will soon have, the same effect; and doubtless before very long the once prosperous state of Legya will be similarly developed, and the whole Northern Shan Superintendency as far as the Mékong, now so sparsely populated, will be seething with life. This region, so full of promise, is practically part of that of which M. Gauthier wrote in the following terms eight years ago:

“Il y a donc pour la France un intérêt de premier ordre et une urgence absolue à prendre *commercialement* possession du Laos avant que l'Angleterre vienne s'y établir. . . . Il faut d'autres agents qu'on appellera 'commissaires' (car le titre de consul implique la reconnaissance d'une autorité étrangère), et qu'on mettra . . . notamment à Xieng-Tong et à Xieng-Hong. . . . L'Angleterre n'a aucun titre pour entrer dans le bassin du Mékong.”

The area covered by the above remarks is too great to permit of it all being well exhibited upon one map, but the *Carte publiée par la Service Géographique de l'Armée* (scale 500,000) gives the best idea of French routes. The Indian Government does not appear to have issued a similar map on the Burma side, and all maps of the Burmese-Shan states procurable in England are very defective; none more so than that which accompanies Mr. Bird's new book.

## GERMANY IN CHINA.

BY A. MICHIE.

WHATEVER else may be predicated of the seizure of the most commanding naval harbour in China, it is reasonable to accept the proceeding as a declaration of the new German policy. Experience warrants the assumption that Germany has not taken so important a departure without counting the cost, that is to say, without reckoning with the dispositions of other interested parties. Germany assuredly does not covet isolation. Her whole political energy has been engaged in the cultivation of alliances, for which indeed she was ready to pay, and has in fact paid, handsomely. And it would be inconsistent with her antecedents to give needless umbrage to any Power on whose benevolence she sets value. Therefore we may conclude that before hoisting the German flag on the forts commanding Kiao-chao bay and "confiscating" the 14 Krupp guns found in position there, she made sure of at least the neutrality of those Powers which, in her estimation, exercise the dominant influence in the Far East.

Then again German policy is never fortuitous ; it is, like everything else of German origin, elaborated and directed towards definite objects. Isolated acts, therefore, while affording a true indication of the trend of that policy, require also to be interpreted by the general movement of which they form part, as texts are made intelligible by their contexts.

It has been known for a long time that Germany aspired to play a prominent part in the Far East. Her first opportunity of showing her hand in a conspicuous and irrevocable form was when she joined Russia and France in protecting China from Japan in 1895. The German Government has never explained to the nation, much less to foreigners, the basis and the purpose of that rather unexpected alliance. It has submitted in silence to a good many taunts, from

English newspapers among others, that it had gained nothing by the move while it forfeited the good will of Japan.

But still waters run deep. Newspaper scimmages and vituperations often serve as a dust-cloud which hides the organic history which is forming itself behind. Possibly the silence of Germany would have remained unbroken respecting her share in the new triple alliance of 1895 had it not been for the "Bismarck revelations" of 1896. These seemed indeed to be intended as a death-blow to all German alliances whatsoever, and the Government felt itself compelled to take notice of them. It could not do so however without making some veiled revelations on its own account. Just a year ago the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, vindicated the Government in a speech, the main point of which was the emphatic affirmation of a solid understanding, based on common interests, between Russia and Germany, wholly irrespective of treaties. The prepossessions of the English Press precluded it from attaching to that speech the importance it deserved. They put it aside with the remark that Baron Marschall had proved himself master of the Parliamentary art of saying an infinite deal of nothing. In point of fact, however, he came as near uttering a manifesto respecting Germany's world-ambitions as any responsible Statesman could be expected to do. The interests of the two Powers—Russia and Germany—he said were not confined to the European continent, and he pointedly stated that these extra-continental interests "will in all probability furnish us an opportunity of acting in harmony with the Power with which we co-operated last year," that is to say, in the re-balancing of the forces of the Far East. The occasion was one of those rare ones when a real, what may almost be called an ultimate truth had to be given out; and if prejudice had not blinded us we might have found in these by no means obscure hints the key not only to Germany's obtrusive patronage of the Transvaal during the autumn and

winter of 1895, and her attitude in extra-European questions generally, but also to the recrudescence of French and Austrian aggressiveness both of which rely on the support of the universal Protector, Russia. At any rate the Foreign Minister's speech furnishes the key to the present situation in regard to the German occupation of Kiao-chao.

One circumstance deserving notice in the voluminous discussions that have been going on in the newspapers for the last three or four weeks is the tacit elimination of China from any practical concern in the alienation of her territory. What Russia thinks, what France thinks, what Japan thinks, fill the columns of the Press with speculations, but China herself is virtually "out of it," the negligible quantity which M. Jules Ferry, rather prematurely, thought her to be when he invaded her tributary state, Tongking. This is the most ominous sign of the times on which there is no need to expatiate.

It would be as inept in us to judge the proceeding of Germany as for *Le Temps* to lay down the law for British movements on the Niger. But we can, to a certain extent, comprehend and even sympathize with her position in the Far East. For reasons known to herself, and of which she owes us no account, Germany has resolved to keep a powerful naval squadron in the China and Japan seas. But modern war-ships are useless without ports, docks, and coaling stations. Neutral ports are not available in war time, nor is there any certainty that the nearest ports would be neutral. The French squadron which blockaded the China coast during the North-east monsoon of 1884-5 managed to keep the sea under conditions which moved the admiration of seamen, but they found Saigon much too far off for coaling and supply. Given a fleet, therefore, a coaling station and dock must be deemed a necessity—though we have managed to do without the latter in a quite wonderful manner at Gibraltar—and it is well known that Germany has been for the last two years endeavouring to secure one on the coast of China. A picked

man was sent out to represent her in Peking expressly for this and similar objects ; and what the Minister could not gain by fair means he has taken by force ; the Mandarins having given him a pretext in the murder of certain Catholic missionaries. It is obvious to remark that if other Powers had resorted to the same means of avenging missionaries there would not be much of the coast left in possession of the Chinese Government. The pretext therefore may be dismissed without further consideration.

What Germany will do with Kiao-chao, and how far she will carry the new-fangled doctrine (made in Germany) of hinterland rights, perhaps the Government itself has not yet decided. *L'appetit vient en mangeant*, and the hinterland in this case happens to be valuable, and therefore tempting. If we could consult the archives of our own Foreign Office, possibly we should find the whole thing labelled as barren and useless. British Columbia was once described by an aristocratic traveller as "a country not worth a d——, for the salmon would not rise to a fly." That is the cue of the Foreign Office which its informants are perhaps worldly-wise in following. But the archives of the Berlin Foreign Office would tell another tale. The German Government was not content with what a young lieutenant could descry from a ship's gig, but has had competent explorers all over the province who report, among other things, a wealth of coal and iron which, with the aid of a robust and intelligent population, might be turned to valuable account in the sweet by-and-by. Moreover, the country is a "white man's country."

Kiao-chao Bay cuts into the neck of a peninsula which is still partly occupied by Japanese who may not prove any more agreeable neighbours to Germany than they are proving to Russia in Korea. One can even imagine the Chinese Government in its helplessness sardonically smiling at the prospect of differences between its two sets of invaders.

It may be asked where, in all this resettlement of the

Far East, does England come in? As far as appears at the moment, nowhere. But the interests of Great Britain in this present juncture are hardly worth discussing, seeing that whatever they may be, nothing practical will or perhaps can be done to safeguard them. Lord Salisbury has relapsed to the epoch of large maps, and is obliged to make believe that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds—in the Far East at all events. His explanation of the Siamese settlement with France justifies this estimate of the position, and all the utterances of persons who reflect Foreign Office light confirm it. In a valuable paper on Chinese affairs, read to the London Chamber of Commerce lately by Mr. George Jamieson, just raised to the well-merited rank of Consul-General in China, this official colour was distinctly perceptible. Nothing was to be feared. Russia in the North, France in the South, absorbing large slices of Chinese territory and controlling Chinese policy (if there be such a thing) was all to the good, for where the Chinese had been passive these Powers would be active, which would promote trade, and trade was our sole object. Likewise there was "room for all." But trade subjected to Russian tariffs, French tariffs and German tariffs, applied with the malicious ingenuity of the *Douaniers*, to say nothing of restrictions here and monopolies there, might not be the particular kind of trade that would feed the families of British workers. From hints like these we may infer that come what may in the Far East the British Government will be to all intents as fatalist as the Chinese, and, like it, will always contrive to put a good face on accomplished facts.

The Government is not entirely to be blamed for a state of things which it inherited and can do little to help. Men are human, capacity is limited, time is short, and art is long. The Foreign Secretary is like the head of an important business, who is incessantly worried by actions for trespass and attendances at police-courts, and who is forced to choose between leaving his squabbles to his bailiffs or his business

to his clerks. But business does not thrive under such conditions, neither do the affairs of an empire.

As for the country, the South African, Armenian and other red herrings have been drawn so vigorously across its nose that its attention has been diverted clean away from its true bread-producing interests. *Our natural inheritance was China, with its 360 millions of ready-made customers.* This great commercial prize was in our hands, and a hundred Africas would never compensate us for the loss of it. Contrast with that ideal field Lord Dufferin's estimate of African potentialities. At the farewell banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce in Paris, February 22, 1895, his lordship said:

"As a theatre for commercial speculation I doubt whether it will prove such an El Dorado as the imagination of Europe, in its present temper, seems disposed to picture it. . . . The main and patent fact which we have to lay to heart is that the great mass of its inhabitants live under primitive conditions, in a tropical climate. . . . Trading with communities that hitherto have found no need for either pockets or purses is not likely to return 100 per cent."

The energy which might have developed our China trade has been diverted to costly and barren adventures fraught with incalculable trouble and danger. As Mr. Jamieson truly says in the paper above referred to:

When one considers how much energy is being displayed in mapping out and apportioning the waste places of the earth, and how much heat is occasionally evolved over some trifling piece of hinterland of no great value to anyone, one wonders that the Far East claims so little of public attention in this country. For there we have not only enormous tracts of territory as yet almost undeveloped, as for instance great parts of Manchuria, Mongolia, and northern Corea, all white man's land and all capable of bearing rich harvests, but the whole of China proper is as yet unexploited by the engineer and the railway contractor. China is about the only part of the world where the engineer has not set foot, and yet there is no part of the world where his services are more needed or would be better rewarded.

And he goes on:

These facts are, I think, much more clearly perceived on the Continent of Europe, and it is not surprising that there should be an eagerness displayed among our commercial rivals to be the first in the field for the privilege of introducing into China the modern improvements of steam and electricity.



The clearer perceptions of the Continent extend we fear over wide fields of vision. Without admitting that the people are more intelligent than ourselves, we may concede that their mental habits conduce to apprehension of the principles of action while English habits are more empirical. They think and then act; we act and let others do the thinking. Can it be doubted that Germans, French, Italians, Russians, not to speak of Dutchmen or Belgians, have a firmer grasp of international politics than the general run of Englishmen? Is this in spite of the infinite superiority of our Press or only a rational consequence of that same? The British public has every morning a surfeit of opinions on every subject under heaven matured to order over night while the P. D. is waiting, and it is too busy during the day to think anything out for itself. Imagining ourselves free, we are in fact under the domination of the Press. We swallow our newspapers whole. When we are threatened with mysterious coalitions against England, our Press consoles us with the assurance that our Navy can smash them all, and we rest in peace. There is something alarming in the flippant way in which this last argument of Kings is flung about as if we were a nation of schoolboys. Is it really the case that we have no management, no common-sense, no policy, no craft or subtlety, no "middle distance," no game at all in hand to come between us and that last card? That would be the primitive condition of savages whose one resource is the tomahawk. And do we really hold the intelligence of our European opponents so cheap as to believe them capable of leading up to our strong hand in this naïve manner? It has sometimes seemed to be so, as when a squadron was suddenly fitted out in reply to a disagreeable message from the Kaiser, as if "Billy" however "silly" was likely to challenge us on salt water! This attitude of ours recalls too painfully the old Chinese practice of Coast fortification, and their amazement that their enemy should be so absurd as to land just where the two miles of crenellated wall left off.

Our leaders in the Press and elsewhere sometimes appear to masquerade in garments a hundred years old, so securely do they soar above the actualities of the day. The coalition to which they would oppose the Navy is working all the while as steadily as a cancer in every part of the world. There are now four powers at least actively co-operating to sap the foundations of British prosperity, each it is true playing for its own hand, but as in round games at cards all against the common enemy. What has begun in China is precisely what has been going on for many years in Persia, what is going on vigorously in Asia Minor, and in Africa. Wherever Great Britain has an interest to be promoted or conserved there pitfalls, barbed wire, obstacles and snares of every kind are diligently set in her path. In every part of the world we are being pressed back, hemmed in, squeezed out, without apparently a chance of retaliation or defence.

Sometimes the newspapers afford a momentary glimpse into what is going on, as the "Standard" lately in the fragment of a letter from its correspondent in Constantinople describing what he calls "the Scramble for Asia Minor," and how completely all British enterprises there are foiled and thwarted, now by French, now by Russians, now by Germans. "England," he says, "is entirely ousted and shut in from all participation in Asia Minor." These topics as a rule get no show in our newspapers; they are not popular. Private residents abroad however are perfectly well aware of what is ignored and shunned alike by Government and publicists. Of the four to one now pitted against us, Austria, the latest recruit, is not the least fervid of our assailants. Possessing no material interest whatever in China, she has nevertheless set up an expensive legation in Peking for purely political objects, which are necessarily not friendly to this country.

These are matters which, to quote Mr. Jamieson's words, "are much more clearly perceived on the Continent of Europe"; and it is as part and parcel of this general Euro-

pean scheme that the new policy of Germany in China is most threatening. How little our men of light and leading really appreciate this situation is shown by all their public utterances. A prominent politician, who considers foreign affairs his speciality, wrote the other day to one of the gravest of our papers deprecating the scurrilous attacks on Germany in which the majority of our newspapers indulge, because it would be a good time to conciliate Germany and get her to join us in opposing the schemes of Russia in Asia.

At one time we are counselled to pay our court to France, at another to Russia, and everything else failing, we are, last of all, to lean on Japan to preserve the equilibrium in the Far East. All these and other contradictory proposals within twelve months! Do our publicists imagine that alliances can be "extemporized" as some men do their "life-long convictions," and at our own will and pleasure? It is singular how with "own correspondents" in every capital we manage to ignore forces which are in full operation before our eyes.

## WESTERN EDUCATION IN CHINA.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

To the foreign residents in China a striking contrast is presented by the character of the officials and the merchants: the former are refined and polished, but are supposed to be much inclined to corruption and prevarication, while the honesty, integrity, and good faith of the latter are proverbial in the East. Both the officials and merchants are drawn from the same classes of people, and yet the difference between them is almost an enigma. The ultimate cause of the difference appears to be the inadequate force provided for the maintenance of civil authority. There is no standing army worthy of the name, nor is there any highly organized police force. Each Mandarin is, therefore, obliged to surround himself with a body of unpaid retainers, who must eke out their living in the best way they can; and thus intrigue, bribery, and corruption cannot possibly be suppressed under the prevailing system of administration.

On the other hand, in Japan the condition of things is just the reverse. There the officials are honest, straightforward and honourable, while the merchants are believed to be grasping and unscrupulous. There is still a strong glamour of chivalry about the military caste, which affects to look down with contempt on the trading classes; and the latter do not value a too high sense of honour. There is, however, one other cause which, more than anything else, accentuates such difference, and that is that the ruling classes are permeated by Western education and strive after Western ideals of excellence. It is now admitted all the world over that the vivifying and unifying principle, which, like Prospero's wand, has transformed the condition of Japan, and accelerated her progressive development, is her system of Western education, controlled, supervised, and subsidised by the State.\*

\* One of the main causes of the success of the better forms of Western thought and education in Japan is their adaptability to the high indigenous ideals and national traditions of chivalry, self-respect, sense of duty, and "good taste" in Japan.—*Ed.*

In Japan, the ardent desire of the Government to revise the Treaties with Foreign Powers has also led to many other reforms on Western models. But in China, the Mandarins have not yet shaken off their intense conservatism, or the grip of their ancient philosophers, who knew and taught nothing about railways, telegraphs, steamboats or representative institutions. In fact, the high officials are divided into two groups, viz., pro-foreign, and anti-foreign, the former, of course, being in the minority. The literate officials are extremely conceited and proud of their book learning; and their regard for the Confucian classics resembles the attitude of the Hindus to their Vedas, and of the Muhammadans to their Koran. They believe that these classics are the repository of universal knowledge, from which can be extracted moral, political, legal, and social maxims, as well as treatises on all things knowable from microbes to elephants! Further, this extreme reverence for their own literature and their utter contempt for all things foreign are fostered by the highly coloured reports of the Chinese Ambassadors who have been abroad. These gentlemen hold high literary degrees; they wield a facile pen, and are expected to display their patriotism by vilifying other countries and glorifying their own. Their stock subject is the custom of hand-shaking and kissing in public between the sexes in the West, and from it they draw all manner of inferences casting most serious reflections on the moral character of Europeans and Americans, forgetting the maxim *Honi soit qui mal y pense!* Thus there has gradually grown up among the high Mandarins, who wield the destinies of China, the belief that, although much may be said in favour of the learning, laws, and institutions of the West, foreigners are undesirable persons to be associated with. In other words, they wish to secure the learning and skill of foreigners without engaging their services. In connection with this subject it is a happy augury for the future to note the recent appointment of two English-speaking gentlemen,

who hold no literary degrees, to represent China in England and the United States of America. It is to be earnestly hoped that, on their return home, they will be able to purge the minds of their fellow-countrymen of the distorted accounts of foreign countries, promulgated by men who were utterly ignorant of the language, history, literature, laws, and institutions of the country they were describing, and will be able, at the same time, to introduce important reforms on Western models.

The recognition by the Chinese Government of the necessity of studying foreign languages dates only from 1862, and was primarily due to a stipulation in the British Treaty of 1860, which provided that English despatches should, for a period of three years, be accompanied by a Chinese translation, within which time the Chinese Government was expected to provide a corps of competent interpreters for international intercourse. This led to the founding of the Tung Wen Kuan College at Peking, where, besides the English language, French, German, Russian, science, and mathematics are now taught. About 1880 similar institutions were established at Nanking, Foochow, and Canton. Owing to the absence of any uniform or central control, the success achieved by these colleges is not at all commensurate with the high cost of their maintenance. In the Provinces, there is hardly any high official who can speak any language but his own; and the present Chinese Chargé d'Affaires at Paris appears to be the only distinguished alumnus of the College at Peking.

In 1872, however, at the suggestion of Mr. Yung Wing, a graduate of Yale College, 120 students were sent to the United States of America to be educated at Government expense. After the expiry of 8 years, they were recalled, and one of the pleas urged to justify this retrograde measure was that the morals and native etiquette of the students had deteriorated by contact with American society!

Under the Chinese system of examination for the public service, there has been produced a lamentable amount of

intellectual lethargy, waste of productive power, and inability to comprehend China's position in relation to other Powers. It is not rare to see three generations, viz., grandfather, father, and son, appearing at the public examinations, which consist mainly in reproducing, in the form of essays and poems, what has been committed to memory out of the all-pervading classics. The percentage of passes is very much lower than one per cent., and the enormous waste of labour\* which might be employed in productive and profitable channels, is truly deplorable. Further, the candidates are not acquainted with Universal History or Comparative Jurisprudence, and their minds are naturally cramped and conceited. It is, indeed, a marvellous conception of the Chinese to imagine that the same standard of examination would be sufficient to test the capacity of a Cabinet Minister, Field-Marshal, Admiral, Viceroy, or Chief Justice. Moreover, there are no schools corresponding to the public schools of the West; female education is utterly neglected, and no attempt is made to encourage or improve the industry or commerce of the country.

If the recent war with Japan has not done anything else, it has, at least, done great service to China by proving to the people the falsity and absurdity of their notion of all-sufficiency and their superciliousness in regard to Western learning. Since the war a great demand has been created for foreign languages and foreign science, and the conviction has, at last, dawned upon the public mind, "*Ex Occidente Lux.*"† Schools and colleges are springing up all over the empire, and it may be hoped that the real awakening of China has now begun.

It would be expedient to guide and control this outburst

\* The number of candidates who appear for the triennial examination for the Chiijen or M.A. degree is from 10,000 to 20,000 at each centre. Taking the number of centres as 19, the total number of men learning the ancient classics, including the accumulations of past years, and the aspirants for all degrees both civil and military cannot be less than 3 or 4 millions. Of this number, scarcely 1 out of 150 obtains any degree, and much less any appointment.

† "*Ex Oriente lux; ex Occidente lex*" would be, perhaps, more natural.

of national energy in favour of Western learning. A Council of Education should certainly be created at Peking, and competent foreigners should be attached to it as advisers. Schools and colleges should be established for the teaching of engineering—civil, mechanical, and electrical—forestry, mining, and agriculture, a knowledge of which is now urgently required in connection with the construction and extension of Railways and Telegraphs, and the general opening up of the country to trade and commerce. At the same time, if funds permit, the claims of foreign medicine, science, law, philosophy, political economy, literature, and history should not be ignored. Efforts should also be made to bring into existence a legal profession, thereby abolishing the barbarous tortures, which disgrace every court of justice in the land.

One great stumbling block encountered by educationists in China is the absence of an alphabet and the extensive mass of ancient literature. The Chinese ideographs have not yet yielded to the application of any scientific principle, and teachers and professors are much required to teach the language on the basis of analysis and synthesis so as to effect much saving of time and labour. The tonal system of the language and the multiplicity of its dialects render its transliteration in the Roman character scarcely expedient or satisfactory; nor is it wise or politic to disregard the importance of its literature. But of this babel of tongues, the Mandarin dialect, the *lingua franca* of China, stands out as the most convenient medium of thought among her teeming millions; and there is no doubt that, with increased facilities of communication, this dialect will claim a wider recognition. Such a happy consummation may, perhaps, be accelerated by having more Western books translated into Mandarin, and by teaching it more widely in foreign schools.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land foreign mission societies have established schools and colleges both for boys and girls. On the whole, Christianity has done and is doing, a great deal of good to the people. Wherever



it was propagated, it has identified itself with the sanctity of human life, the earnestness of human endeavour, moral and intellectual culture, the emancipation of women, the abolition of foot-binding, which has imposed a painful disability on the better half of the race, the evolution of individualism out of communism, which lies like a nightmare upon Chinese society, and a clearer insight into the affairs of life and the relations of society. Here and there may also be found missionaries who hold before themselves the ideal of "muscular Christianity" as taught by Charles Kingsley, that is to say, whose exertions embrace the material and social well-being of their converts. At the same time it cannot be denied that occasionally black sheep are found, who have been lured into the fold by filthy lucre rather than spiritual yearnings, and whose character and conduct are not creditable. Whenever such cases are brought to light, the Churches concerned should not hesitate to exercise their powers of expulsion or excommunication. Further, the home societies should exercise great care in selecting missionaries for the Far East, and none but healthy, vigorous, well-educated, and sympathetic ladies and gentlemen of high character should be sent. China is doubtless under deep obligations to the noble band of missionaries, who have imposed upon themselves the task of educating the people and of interpreting the west to the east, and the east to the west, and who have set before the people at large a high standard of refinement and culture, of self-sacrifice, and, above all, of honesty and cleanliness.

The educational operations undertaken throughout the empire should be made to converge towards the establishment of a national University at Shanghai, where the Educational Association of China held its second Triennial Meeting in May, 1896. The calendars of the English, American, German, Indian, and Japanese Universities may be consulted with advantage in framing rules, regulations, and curricula of studies. The Association may be looked

upon as a nucleus of a Senate, and it may well undertake to grant diplomas for special branches of learning after due examination. There is every probability that the Chinese officials and gentry will warmly welcome the establishment of such a beneficial and far-reaching institution in their midst, and subscriptions, donations, and benefactions will be forthcoming.

Before, however, any extensive reforms are introduced in connection with the national system of education, an Imperial or Viceregal Commission might well be sent to Japan to inquire into the educational methods of that country especially with reference to industrial and commercial schools. The Japanese Government will certainly be delighted to welcome such a Commission and to assist it to the utmost of its power. Indeed, such a measure will be an indirect tribute to the marvellous progress of Japan, and will have a tendency to draw the two countries into closer and more intimate relationship. At the same time the Commission might well be authorised to propose an exchange of an equal number of students to be educated in either country at the public expense. Early friendships formed among the youthful leaders of national thought cannot but be of immense advantage to the two cognate empires of the East.

Finally, while the whole nation is being drawn closer and closer to the West, the members of the Imperial Family, from whom the successor to the Emperor is chosen, and the Imperial Clansmen, from whom the Manchu members of the Cabinet, Grand Council, and the Six Boards are appointed, should be the leaders of the masses in studying foreign languages, science, and literature. It should be borne in mind that the future destiny of the empire is mainly in their hands, and that it is not always wise to lag behind in the race or to stand by and await a conflict of ideas and sentiments between the rulers and the ruled, which must be the inevitable consequence of the introduction of Western learning into China.

## BLACK AND WHITE "RIGHTS" IN AFRICA.

BY H. R. FOX BOURNE.

THE European "scramble for Africa," to which the Berlin Conference of thirteen years ago gave formal sanction and fresh vigour, has all along been attended by risks and scandals that have been none the less grave because there has been constant endeavour to ignore or conceal them. They are forcing themselves into prominence just now. Of the risks we have evidence in the West African difficulties which an Anglo-French Commission has been appointed to cope with in Paris, and which prompted the Marquis of Salisbury to declare at the last Lord Mayor's Banquet that "Africa was created to be the plague of the Foreign Offices." Of the scandals conspicuous examples are furnished by recent proceedings in South Africa. Each and all are traceable, in part, to blunders in statesmanship which, on prudential if on no higher grounds, ought surely to be corrected as far as possible, and also to serve as warnings against similar, or even worse, mistakes in the future. That, at any rate, is an opinion in support of which I offer the following remarks.

Let us first look at the conditions of the problem for which the diplomats are at present trying to find a pacific solution in Paris, as an alternative to the rough and ready, and ever more and more perilous, course that, in Africa itself, French and English—with Germans and others to look on and take part in the scramble—have been pursuing for many years.

The immediate ground of dispute or argument is alleged to be the portion of the Niger district as regards which rival pretensions of ownership are made on account of rival treaties said to have been negotiated with native chiefs. But there can be no doubt that a much larger area is involved in the controversy. It extends to the district watered by the Nile near its source, and includes more than the whole vast stretch of country between these two

districts. While the Berlin Conference was sitting, General Gordon's death at Khartum, in January 1885, put a check on Egyptian claims, backed by Great Britain, to mastery over the Eastern Sudan. Those claims were never abandoned, however, and they are now being enforced, with apparent success, more than ever, under British influence and control. No fictions of statecraft can conceal the fact that Egypt, with all the territory of which its Khedive has actual or visionary hold, is really an appendage of Great Britain for so long as the British Government chooses or is allowed to retain the power it has acquired in Cairo. Meanwhile, the enormous protectorate or "sphere of influence" of British East Africa has been marked out on the map as bounded on the north by German East Africa and on the west by French Ubangi and the Congo Free State; which latter, though it is to some extent in partnership with us in our crusade against the Mahdists, is expected by many to become French property before long. Almost the principal business done by the Berlin Conference was the sanctioning of the Congo State, with nearly a million square miles of territory assigned to it, and the simplifying, as it was thought, of arrangements for the European occupation of other territories. As outcomes or concomitants of the Conference's work, even Portuguese pretensions, if contracted, have been strengthened, and German ambitions have had great developments; but the most solid gains have been made territorially and politically by France, and commercially by Great Britain. Three of our four West African colonies, hitherto quite small, have been much enlarged, and, with the districts assigned to our Niger Coast Protectorate, nominally cover an area of more than half a million square miles, British East Africa being of nearly equal dimensions. French West and Central Africa is now at least twice as extensive as either, and, with Algeria and Tunis and the Sahara wastes that intervene, makes up a total of about three million square miles. The ultimate if not the speedy

effect of the Paris negotiations, in the unlikely event of their having any important and lasting result at all, will be a systematizing, more or less, of the methods by which France and Great Britain, claiming between them African territories much larger than the entire continent of Europe, shall be free to carry out their processes of "effective occupation" in their several spheres. By what right, if they do it, will they do this?

The old plan of seizing the territories of other people, even of African savages, without any excuse, has gone out of fashion nowadays—in theory, at any rate. Some sort of excuse is generally provided, either as a preliminary hypocrisy or as a convenient afterthought. The commonest excuse, the one which satisfied the Berlin Conference with its talk about "improving the moral and material conditions of life among native populations," and which was echoed by the Brussels Conference of 1889 when it undertook to secure for the people of Africa "the blessings of peace and civilization," is that it is solely or chiefly for their own good that the natives are encroached upon and subdued by force unless they voluntarily accept the rule offered to them by white men.

Even that excuse by itself, however, is not generally considered sufficient. It is, in the most approved instances, accompanied or preceded by treaty-making. A native chief, or someone who is assumed by the enterprising white agent who visits him to be competent to dispose of his own and his people's rights, is coaxed or bullied into making a treaty. The black party to the contract may not have understood what he was signing, or putting his mark to. If he did, he may have had no authority for his action. But so soon as the document called a treaty has been procured by the white agent, it is regarded as sacred by his employers—sacred, that is, in so far as its terms can be construed into affording them any warrant for interfering with the natives held responsible for it, though no more heed than is convenient is paid to any provisions in it for

safeguarding the natives' interests. So long as it furnishes a pretext for interference, that is enough. If the natives resent the interference, they are promptly punished. Punishment means death to a great many of them, and oppression of the survivors. But the treaty has answered its purpose. It has provided an excuse for the appropriation of territory which was aimed at from the first. The "strict principles of right" by which, as Lord Salisbury said at the Guildhall banquet, "we desire to be governed" have been adhered to: there have not been, to borrow his words, "any unjust or illegitimate achievements" in the white man's overawing of the blacks. The black men are declared to have forfeited their rights to their property, if it is conceded that they ever had any. All that remains for the white men to do is to see that their own "plain rights," the "rights" they have acquired in the way just indicated or in worse ways, are not "overridden" by other white men.

African treaty-making is not altogether an institution of to-day. It was the principal agency by which our colonies and protectorates were either founded or slowly developed both in West and in South Africa in former days, and in most cases it was more honest and had more honest issues in former days than of late. But its present development is of quite modern growth. Mr. H. M. Stanley boasts that, after his year's wanderings in 1879 as the pioneer of the Congo Free State, he brought back "four hundred and fifty treaties" to serve as the basis for the foundation of that State. The Royal Niger Company takes credit for nearly as many.

The so-called treaties with the Congolese chiefs, worthless in other respects, served their purpose in inducing the European Powers represented at the Berlin Congress to recognise King Leopold's claim to sovereignty in the Congo State, and since then King Leopold's officers have assumed absolute control over all the natives whom they could frighten into obedience.

The Royal Niger Company went to work more leisurely. Limiting its operations almost entirely, for some time, to the districts within easy reach of the coast, inhabited by weak and disorganized tribes of pagan savages whom it easily compelled to supply it with the palm-oil and other local produce for which there was a demand in civilized markets, it was slow in making use of the "treaties" negotiated for it by the late Joseph Thompson with the powerful Sultans of Sokoto and Gandu and other Mohammedan chiefs in 1885, and by other agents with other rulers in subsequent years. Even after Mr. Wallace and Captain (now Major) Lugard had in 1894 substituted for some of those flimsy documents fresh documents as flimsy, little or nothing was immediately done to enforce the "rights" supposed to have been thus doubly secured against the competition of French and German adventurers. It was taken for granted, and with some reason, if the Anglo-French Agreement of 1890 was meant to bind its signatories, that the paper concessions acquired by the Company could safely be pigeon-holed until it was ready to take advantage of them, and that no more than formal protest against encroachments, threatened or even started, was necessary to uphold the assumed rights. The French, however, take a different view of the position. They urge that treaty-making by itself does not constitute "effective occupation," and they say that, as regards certain districts at any rate, they can produce treaties more valid than those on which the Niger Company bases its claim. It was partly to meet this contention of the French on their own ground, doubtless, though other motives were also pressing, that the Company made its dash at Bida last January; and the French advance to Bussa and Nikki, which the Company has regarded as its property in reserve since 1890, was evidently induced thereby.

Hence a dispute that is now grave. It will be well, so far as France and Great Britain are concerned, if the commissioners who are parleying in Paris can arrive at an

amicable settlement of the dispute, and it will be better still if their deliberations can lead to friendly arrangements as to the other and certainly not less serious difficulties that have been set up and are growing as regards territories much farther east. Upon the merits and demerits of these controversies, as between the two European rivals, however, I offer no opinion here. My aim, in referring to them, is to call attention to the immorality of any compact they may arrive at, if their diverse interests allow of any compact being arrived at, for the seizure of territory which does not belong to them and for the assumption of authority over millions of people who owe them no obedience.

Joseph Thompson, one of the most humane and fair-minded of our African travellers and empire-builders, spoke scornfully, in his "Mungo Park and the Niger," about his French precursors in the region that he visited in 1884 on behalf of the Royal Niger Company. "With patient foresight," he says of the projects started from Senegal more than a generation ago, "they began to send explorers along the line of proposed conquest, carrying with them ready-made treaties, French flags, and blank maps." And his account of Captain Gallieni's mission to the Upper Niger in 1880, "at the head of a small army of drilled troops, with a considerable train of donkeys, native drivers, native servants, etc.," is typical. Minor potentates having been frightened or deceived on the way, Gallieni at length went to Sego, there "to see the suzerain of the Upper Niger chiefs and kings, and conclude a treaty with him." "On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the capital he was stopped, and ordered to remain where he was, till his business was settled. Many weary weeks and months were passed in the attempt to get Amadu, the Sultan of Sego, to sign a treaty placing his country under a French protectorate. In the end the necessary signature was obtained, and from that moment French rule—on paper—was supreme from the sources of the Niger to Timbuktu." Since then the replacing of paper rule by something more effective has gone



on rapidly and ruthlessly. This same Amadu or his successor, best known to English readers as Samory, has been hunted south and east, and has repeatedly appealed in vain to the British Government for protection from his French "protectors." In driving out of our Sierra Leone Hinterland some of his subjects, the Sofas, who had taken refuge there, an English force under Captain E. A. W. Lendy came into collision with a French force in December, 1893, and "the Waima incident," as it was called, might probably have led to a European war had it not been explained that each force had mistaken the other for their common foe, the luckless Sofas. It was with some of Samory's people, again, driven further east, that another English expedition was in awkward contact a few months ago in our Gold Coast hinterland, where trouble is still brewing.

"Ready-made treaties, flags and blank maps" are as freely used by British as by French aggressors. Samples of the former are plentiful, and may be studied with advantage in Sir Edward Hertslet's "Map of Africa by Treaty." They are slightly varied in their terms, to meet special exigencies, and blanks, to be filled in with the particular names and localities in each case, are left in the printed forms of which the enterprising treaty-makers have an ample supply when they set out on their missions. They are the orthodox preliminaries to appropriation of territories, whether by such Crown officials as the Governors of Lagos and the Gold Coast or by the Royal Niger Company. All are so devised as to render the native ruler responsible for concessions and surrenders much larger than are understood or contemplated by him. Thinking that no more than gracious protection and generous assistance is offered to him and to his people, the promise of which is emphasized by a paltry present or a paltry pension, he and they discover sooner or later that they have been beguiled or betrayed and they are at the mercy of the usurpers.

As Nikki, the capital of the extensive Borgu dominion, of which Bussa is a branch, is now a centre of diplomatic

interest, the treaty negotiated by Major Lugard, in November, 1894, with Lafia, "King of Nikki and all the Borgu country," may be cited as a specimen of all such treaties. In this document Lafia is made to say, or, rather, he "being blind, and also having a superstitious dread of personally meeting any European," it is said for him by three of his officers: "With a view of bettering the condition of my country and people, I hereby give to the Company and their assigns, for ever, full criminal and civil jurisdiction of every kind *over all foreigners in my country*, including the rights of protection and taxation, and I pledge myself and my successors not to exercise any jurisdiction whatever *over such foreigners* without the sanction of the Company. I bind myself not to have any intercourse, as representing my tribe or state, or tribal or state affairs, with any foreigner or foreign Government other than the Company; but this provision shall not be interpreted as authorizing any monopoly of trade, direct or indirect, by the Company or others, nor any restriction of private or commercial intercourse with any person or persons—subject, however, to such administrative measures as may be taken by the Company, as a Government, *in the interests of order or commerce*. . . . I accept the protection of the British flag; but I understand that such protection against the attacks of neighbouring aggressive tribes can only be afforded as far as practicable. I give to the Company and their assigns, for ever, the sole right to mine or dispose of mining rights in any portion of my territory." "In consideration of the foregoing," it is added, "the Company bind themselves not to interfere with any of the native laws and customs of the country, *consistently with the maintenance of order and good government and the progress of civilization*." As the claims of the King of Nikki or Borgu to sovereign rights over Bussa and other places are debatable, the Royal Niger Company has similar treaties with the Emirs and Chiefs of Bussa and some, if not all, of the other places supposed to be within the Nikki or Borgu dominion.

It will be noticed that by these treaties the native rulers, in return for "protection" from foreign (that is, from non-African) intruders, and for any protection from African intruders that the Company may find "practicable," assign to it no more than a mining monopoly, trading rights which are not to be converted into a monopoly of trade, and jurisdiction, including power of taxation and protection, over any foreigners who may thus be brought into the country, but no right of interference with its natives except—and this is an important and most disingenuous exception—in so far as interference may be thought consistent with "the maintenance of order and good government and the progress of civilization." The treaties set up no standard of order, good government and the essentials of civilization. No standard—to take the case of Nikki—could possibly have been agreed upon between King Lafia, or the officers deputed to act for him in his blindness and superstitious dread of Europeans, and Major Lugard. No attempt having been made to set one up, the Royal Niger Company, of course, considers itself free, in this part of the Niger district as elsewhere, to adopt any views and any measures it finds convenient as regards "the maintenance of order and good government and the progress of civilization" among the pseudo-Mohammedan and more than semi-barbarous people of Nikki. Unless the Paris Commission settles amicably the dispute between France and Great Britain as to their alleged territorial rights over King Lafia's country, or unless the question is settled more roughly by contest between French and British forces on the spot, and unless, in either alternative, the Royal Niger Company has to abandon its claims, it will consider itself competent, and by the course of events may be impelled, to put such an interpretation on its treaty of 1894 and the accompanying treaties as will lead to "effective occupation" of the territory in question, to gradual, if not immediate, overthrow of all native institutions and to more or less tyrannical subjection of all the Borgu communities to its own methods of enforcing order and good government and of advancing civilization.

It is by such proceedings that the Royal Niger Company has achieved most of the successes it can now boast of. The avowed objects of its skilfully conducted expeditions a year ago to Bida, the capital of Nupe, and to Ilorin were, according to its chairman, Sir George Goldie, "to put an end to slave-raiding in the territories lying to the south-west of the Niger, and to satisfy the Government of Lagos by obtaining adequate guarantees from the Emir of Ilorin against renewed frontier troubles." But other motives, not concealed and of at least equal weight, were the forcing of the chiefs and their people to trade with the Company on terms prescribed by it, and the forestalling of French designs in the same quarters. Their only excuse, unless we regard the pretence of philanthropy as one, was the failure of the Emirs of Nupe and Ilorin to put on the old trade and "protection" treaties with them the construction favoured by the Company. As their result, after great slaughter of natives, the defeated Emir of Nupe was deposed and a fresh one installed at Bida who, in a new treaty which he was ordered to sign, "recognises that all Nupe is entirely under the power of the Company and under the British flag"; also a new emir was found for Ilorin who placed himself and his people "entirely under the protection and power of the Company," and pledged himself "to obey all such directions in respect of his Government as the Company may give him from time to time."

This was the first important movement of the Company in the interior of the district assigned to it by its charter; but for eighteen years it, or the United African Company of which it was a development, had been taking advantage of the treaties entered into with the smaller and more barbarous tribes between Lokoja and the native coast. These treaties had accorded to the European adventurers nothing but trading privileges. Till 1884 there was no thought of territorial aggrandisement or of "civilising" the nations by any worthier methods than an unlimited supply

of cheap gin and rum, guns and gunpowder, in exchange for local produce. By proclaiming a British protectorate over the Niger delta in 1884, without consulting its native occupants and owners, the British Government converted these trade-treaties into instruments of oppression which have been mercilessly enforced, both by the Royal Niger Company and by the officials of the Niger Coast Protectorate that was reconstituted in 1891, whenever and however the interests of "civilization," as understood by enterprising traders, might dictate.

It was officially urged the other day as a merit in the Royal Niger Company that it has each year been engaged in, on an average, about a dozen "little wars," concerning which the English public has heard next to nothing. Information on the subject does, however, occasionally ooze out, and it is painful reading. The "Brass disturbances" of 1895, for instance, brought on the Brass disturbers terrible retribution, although, as Sir Claude MacDonald, then Administrator of the Niger Coast Protectorate, testified, "the markets which the natives of Brass formerly visited lying now within the territories of the Royal Niger Company, they (the natives) are deprived of a means of subsistence, and are, therefore, perhaps not unnaturally, discontented and somewhat troublesome." For showing discontent and causing trouble, in ways perhaps not unnatural to "sniped," starved and defrauded savages, the Brass people were mowed down by Maxim guns and other "resources of civilization," with inhumanity at least equal to theirs, the greater offence of which was in proportion to the difference between these persecuted barbarians and their "enlightened" persecutors.

The Royal Niger Company is not responsible for all the "little wars" in West Africa, entered upon professedly for the spread of so-called civilization, but really in the interests of trade. Several are due to the direct action of Crown officials in the Niger Coast Protectorate, the latest of which we know at present being the vengeance wrought on the

people of Benin last January for their massacre of uninvited and unwelcome English visitors a few weeks before. More extensive, if not more numerous, have been the operations conducted from Lagos and the Gold Coast, even from Freetown in Sierra Leone and Bathurst on the Gambia, with the primary object of compelling the natives of the interior to meet the requirements of English traders, and the secondary object of, to some extent, checking the encroachments of French adventurers further inland, all of them leading up to the larger and more comprehensive enterprise that is now in progress.

Of like purpose are the bold and persistent efforts that have been made since 1888 to establish in Uganda a centre of civilizing influence on the eastern side of Central Africa and to connect it with the Zanzibar neighbourhood by railway and other communications ; also the recent advances into the Eastern Sudan.

Few Englishmen will deny that, if "the scramble for Africa" is to continue until the whole of it has been parcelled out, with "effective occupation," among the several competing European Powers, there are patriotic, and perhaps also philanthropic, grounds for desiring that England's share shall be as considerable and as valuable as it can be. Fewer still will doubt that there would be immense advantage, if it could be honestly and truly done, in rescuing myriads of people scattered over vast portions of Africa from the squalor and degradation, the base superstitions and the cruel customs, the human sacrifices, the cannibalism, the slave-raiding and many other abominations, that now afflict them. But how much reality is there, and how much pretence, in the philanthropic professions offered as excuse or justification for all this European raiding in Africa? And even if the ends aimed at are good, is there warrant for the means by which it is proposed to attain them? It is a Christian maxim that we may not do evil in order that good may come of it. The practice of modern Christians—in Africa, at any rate, too often—is, when doing

evil recklessly, to find hypocritical warrant for it in a vague and very questionable assumption that the result will be beneficial to the white intruders and usurpers, if not to the blacks who are intruded upon and whose rights are ignored.

"You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs," said Mr. Chamberlain at a Colonial Institute banquet last March. "You cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force." He admitted, in the same speech, that "our rule over these territories can only be justified if we can show that it adds to the happiness and prosperity of the people." But the evidence that he acknowledged to be necessary to justify British appropriation of African territories was not adduced by him; and in the opinion of many, if not of Mr. Chamberlain himself, it may be enough that acceptable African omelettes for white men's consumption be made without regard for the black men who are the eggs broken in the process.

In the scramble for the large portion of Africa with which the Berlin Conference concerned itself, France and Germany, as well as Great Britain and at least one other European Power, have been active for over a dozen years, and it is held by many that our nation was bound, in self-defence, to keep pace with its rivals. In South Africa the conditions have been somewhat different. Foreign rivalry has had little to do in forcing on British encroachments there. By sound statesmanship and fair treatment of the natives Great Britain could, long before 1884, have acquired honourable supremacy over a much larger area south of the Zambesi than it now rules. As far back as 1836 Moselekatse, the father of Lobengula, made a treaty of friendship with the Governor of Cape Colony which, at any rate, brought him and his people within the British sphere of influence, and in according protection to the Bechuana in 1884 the British Government only tardily and inadequately yielded to their earnest appeals. That our subsequent dealings, both with the Bechuana and with the Matabele, have

been, for the most part, betrayals of their trust in us, may be shown by a brief review of the facts.

In February, 1888, the British Government entered into a treaty of "peace and amity for ever" with Lobengula, renewing the treaty of 1836 with his father, and only stipulating that he should not cede to any other Power any part of the country over which his sovereignty was recognised. In October, 1888, three speculators, Messrs. Rudd, Maguire, and Thompson, purchased from him mining rights throughout his "kingdoms, principalities, and dominions," which rights they afterwards disposed of to the promoters of the British South Africa Company. In October, 1889, this Company received its Royal Charter, empowering it to carry into effect "the Rudd concession," as it is styled, and to acquire further concessions, "with the view of promoting trade, commerce, civilization, and good government in the territories which are or may be comprised or referred to in such concessions." In November, 1889, a message was sent to Lobengula by Lord Knutsford, assuring him, in the Queen's name, that the concessionaries were "men who will fulfil their undertakings, and who may be trusted to carry out the working for gold in the chief's country without molesting his people, or in any way interfering with their kraals, gardens, or cattle," and advising him to assign to Dr. Jameson "the duty of deciding disputes and keeping the peace among white persons in his country," but offering no suggestion as regards European control over black persons. "Of course," it was added, "this must be as Lobengula likes, as he is king of the country, and no one can exercise jurisdiction in it without his permission."

Thus induced, Lobengula allowed Dr. Jameson and his followers to enter the southern and eastern portions of his country, in what is now known as the province of Mashonaland, to establish there forts and townships, to peg out mining-claims and farms, and to tyrannize over as many of the Mashona as they had use for as bondsmen. It was not



till July, 1893, that Dr. Jameson and the others deemed it expedient to force on a quarrel with Lobengula, nor till the following October that, the British Government being misled, they obtained its permission to make war upon him. But the raid then began, and, though Lobengula was not hunted to death till some weeks later, his forces were defeated, and Bulawayo was destroyed, in time for Dr. Jameson, by proclamation on Christmas Day, 1893, to assume possession of the whole of Matabeleland on behalf of the triumphant Company. That desecration of the day on which Christians celebrate the heralding of "peace on earth and good will among men" concluded the first stage in the progress of "a story of crime," and marked the beginning of a second.

The bait by which Dr. Jameson attracted his little army of filibusters to engage in the conquest was a promise to each volunteer of a large plot of land for farming purposes, twenty gold claims, and an equal share with the other volunteers in all the cattle "taken." This "annexing" of cattle was from the start quite as important a part of the "military operations" as the shooting down of unarmed or ill-armed natives. An estimated total of some 200,000 head of cattle in the possession of the Matabele in 1893 was reduced by, at least, a fourth through incidental and uncontrolled "looting" before the war was over. After that the volunteers claimed another 50,000 as their share of the spoil, but were induced by the Company to be satisfied with 30,000. Of the rest the Company seized and branded as many as possible for itself, but, under strong pressure from the Colonial Office, consented to restore to the natives "sufficient for their needs," and this was done after nearly two years' delay—shortly before the rinderpest broke out and deprived the people of almost all the 40,900 allotted to them. Roughly speaking, the Company and its followers appropriated and divided among themselves four-fifths of the natives' cattle, and allowed the owners to retain only one-fifth.

Against these and other lawless proceedings the British Government protested vigorously, over and over again; but the Chartered Company was too clever for it. As the result of prolonged correspondence, a "Memorandum of Settlement" was drawn up and signed in May, 1894, providing for equitable treatment of natives, and especially for the appointment of a Land Commission to secure for them "land sufficient and suitable for their agricultural and grazing requirements, and cattle sufficient for their needs." How the cattle question was settled has been noted. The Land Commission did not meet till September, when it marked out on the map two large blocks of land as "native reserves." No attempt, however, was made to locate the natives in these "reserves," inadequate and unsuitable in themselves. The Company and the settlers whom it was coaxing into the country found it more convenient that the natives should be left to squat about and be available for any service required from them by the white intruders. Thus arose the labour question, which only began to be a labour difficulty about the middle of 1895. For a year and a half the newcomers did little more than look around, prospect for mines, peg out claims, and so forth, and had no difficulty in obtaining as much voluntary labour as they had need of. As soon as the demand exceeded the supply they called on the Company to provide them with forced labour, and this was done. It is on official record that in the second half of 1895 the Company procured for the mine-owners and others over 9,000 compulsory drudges, in addition to some 4,500 who had "gone voluntarily to work." Thus a system of practical slavery was introduced, which was only one of the causes, but probably the chief cause, of the "rebellion" that broke out in March, 1896.

The story of the "rebellion" and its suppression is too well known to need repeating. The apologists for the Chartered Company boast that last year at least 8,000 natives were killed off by Maxim guns, dynamite, destruction of grain causing wide-spread starvation, and other

"resources of civilization," in addition to some 4,000 shot down or starved out in the campaign of 1893. In the end, or as a step towards the end, a peace was patched up with the cowed, but still turbulent, Matabele chiefs, to whom small pensions and sham dignities were granted on condition of their helping the authorities to secure as much forced labour as might in future be asked for by the Company and its customers.

That is the present arrangement. Near the close of the last session of Parliament, Mr. Chamberlain promised, in effect, that at the opening of the next session he would be ready with a scheme for the future administration of Rhodesia which would satisfy philanthropists as well as capitalists, the requirements of justice as well as expediency, the honour of the British nation as well as the interests of speculators. Such a scheme may yet be forthcoming. Meanwhile the course of events points to the solidification and expansion—under such restraints as, if it troubles itself to do anything, Downing Street may impose and enforce—of a chartered syndicate of shareholders who have already shown how skilfully, or how clumsily, they can cope not only with Lobengula and the Matabele, but also with the British Government and its officials in South Africa.

Here, surely, we have a sufficiently striking instance of injustice done by, or on behalf, and with the sanction, of, a nation professing to be civilized and Christian towards people looked down upon as savages and heathen. But there is, perhaps, an even more glaring instance in the treatment of the Bechuana.

Bechuanaland comprises several kindred, but more or less distinct, communities, occupying the central portion of South Africa, between the Orange River and the Zambesi, bounded on the one side by the Transvaal and on the other by German South West Africa. To save themselves from the encroachments of Boer and other intruders these communities sought British protection. The district in the south was organized as the Crown colony of British

Bechuanaland in 1885, while the larger area in the north, with Khama for its most influential chief, continued to be only a vaguely defined protectorate. With all the Bechuana, however, engagements were entered into, which ought to have been kept, but which have not been kept.

In the case of Khama and his neighbours in the north, the injury done was much less than was proposed, and more in intention than in fact. The founders of the British South Africa Company contrived to get the whole territory north of British Bechuanaland placed under their control by the charter of 1889, without the sanction or even the knowledge of its rightful owners. Fortunately for these latter, the Company was too busy elsewhere to claim the property wrongfully bestowed upon it until 1895, and then Khama and the two other chiefs who visited England for the purpose, and who had many friends to plead their cause, induced Mr. Chamberlain to substantially upset the arrangement which had been made in 1889. By a new arrangement, in accordance with which they surrendered a strip of land broad enough for the railway to Bulawayo then in contemplation, their right to the rest of the country was upheld.

Far worse has been the case of the natives in British Bechuanaland. They have been treated all the more unjustly, it would seem, because a measure of justice was shown to their northern kinsmen. Concurrent with the Chartered Company's proposal to absorb the Bechuanaland Protectorate was a demand from the Cape Government that British Bechuanaland should be handed over to it, that is, that instead of being a Crown colony it should become a province of Cape Colony. These two projects were closely allied, Mr. Cecil Rhodes being at that time both Managing Director of the Company and Cape Premier, with carefully laid plans on foot for a very comprehensive "northern development," including the control of the Transvaal as well as the appropriation of all Bechuanaland. The Jameson Raid failed. Mr. Rhodes was not

allowed to tyrannize over Khama. But he had his way—or, at any rate, his successors are having their way—in British Bechuanaland.

As soon as this district was made a Crown colony in 1885 a Land Commission was appointed to mark off sufficient and suitable lands to be secured for the exclusive use of the natives, in which they might practically live their own lives in their own ways without contact with the white settlers outside, unless they chose to go among them, to work for them or to trade with them. The arrangement was fairly equitable and it worked fairly well through more than ten years, as did the other provisions made in the interests of the natives by the Crown officials. When, early in 1895, the natives heard of their threatened transfer to Cape rule, they eloquently and pathetically appealed against it to "their Great Mother, the Queen." "We know," they said, "that, if this country is annexed to the Cape Colony, instead of being prosperous we shall be ruined, instead of being justly and fairly treated we shall be unfairly treated. . . . Why are you tired of ruling us? Why do you want to throw us away?"

Mr. Chamberlain so far listened to these appeals that he required from Mr. Rhodes that there should be no meddling by the Cape Government with native institutions, and especially that "all native reserves shall be and remain inalienable, save with the consent of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies." On these conditions, after some months' delay, he allowed the transfer, and a proclamation giving effect to it was issued in November, 1895.

Scarcely more than a year elapsed before the forebodings of the luckless Bechuana began to be realized. A paltry dispute between a few natives and a white farmer, in December, 1896, which a capable magistrate could have adjusted in an hour, was made the pretext for a cry of rebellion. Volunteers were sent up by hundreds, first from Kimberley and afterwards from Cape Town, to shoot down the so-called "rebels," to burn their kraals, to take their

cattle, to destroy their grain, and to drive the starving warriors into the desolate mountainous region known as the Langeberg. "One day's fighting will satisfy the rebels," wrote a typical warrior, "and then it will be a nigger-hunt for two or three weeks till we have driven them from the country." The "nigger-hunt" lasted six or seven months; thousands were shot down, women and children as well as armed and unarmed men, before the famished and heart-broken residue surrendered to their ruthless persecutors.

Why, it will be asked, was this wickedness done? Not solely for sport. Let the editor of the *Cape Times*, on most occasions the champion and panegyrist of the Cape Government, explain the business-like view of the situation. In an article entitled "Naboth's Vineyard," published on 1st June, he wrote, "We whites want the black man's land, just as we did when we first came to Africa. But we have the decency, in these conscience-ridden days, not to take it without a fair excuse. A native rising, especially where there are inaccessible caves for the rebels to retire into, is a very tiresome and expensive affair; but it has its compensation, for it provides just the excuse wanted." Accordingly a Bechuanaland Native Reserves Bill, "to appropriate lands contained in certain native reserves, the previous occupants of which had gone into rebellion," was introduced into the Cape Parliament. It was passed on 10th June, and received the Royal assent. Mr. Chamberlain had, in anticipation of this event, been reminded by the Aborigines Protection Society in March, and again in April, of his stipulation a year and a half before that the Bechuana Reserves should be "inalienable," and urged to exercise his power to withhold the Royal assent; but he declined to interfere. The Colonial Office, therefore, shares, to some extent, with the Sprigg Ministry the responsibility for an act of legislative injustice.

Nor is that all. In August the Cape Government found itself in possession, after much bloodshed, not only of the

natives' lands, for the seizure of which, according to the *Cape Times*, a "fair excuse" had been devised, but also of between three and four thousand "surrendered Bechuana rebels." These, including old women and young, and children of all ages, as well as unarmed men, it deported as soon as convenient to Cape Town, there to be "indentured" for five years to Cape farmers and others, and what the *Cape Times*—again to cite that Rhodesian organ—calls "our slave-mart" was opened on 31st August. There can be no denying that, practically if not technically, this is a revival in a British colony of the slavery which was forbidden, and supposed to have been abolished for ever throughout the British dominions, by the Emancipation Act of 1834. There are grounds for hoping that it will not be allowed to continue. Strong efforts are being made to prove the illegality of the Cape Government's proceedings and to induce the British Government to assert the authority of the Crown, in the interests of justice and humanity, even over a "self-governing colony." Some good may thus be done in rescuing a few thousands of our surviving Bechuana fellow-subjects from the persecution to which they are being subjected, and in helping many other thousands by the warning it will give to wrong-doers, though the good that can be done may, at best, be slight. The evil that still will remain to be overcome is stupendous.

It is conjectured that there are nearly two hundred millions of Africans in Africa. Over more than fifty of these millions occupying about a third of the whole continent, Great Britain claims to have some sort of authority, for the most part doubtfully acquired and often unjustly exercised. Admitting that we can, and should, do much to extend to these fellow-creatures "the blessings of peace and civilization," and that to this end there may be an advantage in inviting and enabling them to become fellow-subjects, is it not high time for us to fully and faithfully recognise, in theory as well as in practice, that they, as well as we, have absolutely the same "rights"?

## CANADA'S LOSS BY THE TREATY OF INDEPENDENCE AND SINCE.

BY THOMAS HODGINS, Q.C.

[The following learned and suggestive Article is written with the view of drawing attention to the loss of Canadian and British Territory by the Treaty of 1783. We trust that it may have some influence on English public opinion regarding Colonial interests. Canada has had in a great measure to hold her own amid the occasional outbursts of Anglophobia in the United States—but Englishmen hitherto have shown indifference to Colonial interests—and as a consequence Canada has suffered both territorially and financially and has had to submit to hostile United States tariffs. The article certainly throws light on what appears to be the unscrupulous and grasping policy of the United States, and on the want of British diplomatic skill in meeting that policy. The author's candour is evident from his giving in footnotes the authorities from which he has quoted, in case any of his positions should be challenged. The letters noted "M.S." are from the originals in the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane—and have never been published in State Papers or Histories.—*Ed.*]

THE peace negotiations of 1782-3, which resulted in the Treaty acknowledging the Independence of the Thirteen American Colonies, marked the commencement of diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain. According to the frank avowal of an American apologist, the undertaking was "a difficult errand in diplomacy, especially under circumstances demanding wariness and adroitness, if not even craft and dissimulation;"\*—a grotesque grouping of appropriate, with sinister, diplomatic qualities in the political drama then placed on the stage of history. The wariness and adroitness of some of the players, the incapacity and indiscretion of others, and the mournful epilogue pronounced by the King over "the downfall of a once respectable Empire," best explain why only one of the nations, then forming the audience, applauded the Treaty.

The disaster to Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown hastened the downfall of the ministry of Lord North; and in March,

\* *John Adams*, by John T. Morse, Jr. (American Statesmen Series), Boston, 1890, p. 165.



1782, the Rockingham administration came into power, the chief policy of which was the stoppage of the war in America, and the recognition of the Independence of the Revolted Colonies. Shortly before the formation of the new Government, Lord Shelburne had, through a friend, suggested to Dr. Franklin, then diplomatic representative of the United States in Paris, that he would be pleased to hear from him; whereupon Dr. Franklin wrote congratulating him on the change of public opinion in England towards America, and expressing the hope that it would tend to produce a general peace. When Dr. Franklin's letter arrived, Lord Shelburne was Secretary of State, and to him must be justly given the credit of initiating the peace negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Independence. But his negotiations were unfortunately tainted with a want of candor.\* Without the knowledge of his colleagues he despatched a Mr. Richard Oswald with instructions to open informal diplomatic negotiations for peace with the Representative of the American Congress at Paris.

Mr. Oswald was introduced by Lord Shelburne to Dr. Franklin as "a pacifical man,† conversant in those negotiations which are interesting to mankind," a quality which harmonises with the Dr.'s opinion of him as "a plain and sincere old man, desirous of being useful in doing good." He had been a successful Scotch merchant in the City of London, was at one time an Army Contractor, and had acquired, through his wife, large estates in the West Indies and America; and, on account of his connection with both countries, had been occasionally consulted by the Government during the American war.‡ But a candid, and, therefore, instructive, opinion of Mr. Oswald's unfitness is

\* This peculiarity in Lord Shelburne's character is noted in Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the 18th Century*, v. 4, pp. 210-15.

† Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice in his *Life of Lord Shelburne* (v. 3, p. 177) uses the expression "practical man," but all other authorities use the expression given above. See *Life of Franklin, written by Himself*, vol. 3, p. 69; *Spark's Franklin*, v. 9, p. 241; *Life of John Adams*, by J. Q. Adams and C. F. Adams, vol. 2, p. 13, etc.

‡ *Life of Lord Shelburne*, by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, v. 3, p. 175.

furnished by a former eminent American diplomat, who says :—"Of all the remarkable incidents in this remarkable transaction, nothing now seems so difficult to account for as the mode in which Great Britain pursued her objects by negotiation. The individual pitched upon to deal with the United States, was a respectable and amiable private gentleman, nominated at the suggestion of Dr. Franklin, with whom he was to treat, because he thought he would get along easily with him."\*

The representatives of Congress were Dr. Franklin, then Minister to France ; John Adams, Minister at the Hague, formerly Commissioner to France and Chief Justice of Massachusetts ; John Jay, Minister to Spain, Ex-President of Congress, and then Chief Justice of New York ; Henry Laurens, Minister to Holland, and formerly President of Congress, and who had just been exchanged for Lord Cornwallis.

To be on equal terms with such astute and experienced politicians the same writer adds : "Great Britain had need of the best capacity and diplomatic experience within her borders. But it was her fortune, during all this period—and indeed almost to the present day,—to insist upon underrating the people with whom she had to deal, because they had been her dependents ; a mistake which has been productive of more unfortunate consequences to herself than an age of repentance can repair."

The American representatives, though differing on some details as to the Peace, were united in policy to secure the independence of the States, and to repudiate all national responsibility for the action of the several States in confiscating the property of, and persecuting, the loyalist British subjects. Each of them had, in addition, a special interest to further in the Treaty. Dr. Franklin's special object was the cession of Canada and Nova Scotia to the United States. Mr. Jay's concern was the extension of the western boundary across the Canadian lands to the

\* *Life of John Adams*, v. 2, p. 32.

Mississippi. Mr. Adams championed the New Englanders' claim to the Canadian fisheries, which they pressed with extreme anxiety; and they felt that he would secure the fisheries for them, if it were a human possibility to do so.

Mr. Oswald arrived in Paris about the middle of April, 1782; and, after communicating Lord Shelburne's desire for peace to Dr. Franklin, and ascertaining his views, the Dr. gave him a confidential paper of "Notes for mere conversation matter between Mr. Oswald and Mr. Franklin," which contained what, by others, would have been considered a startling proposition—that Great Britain should "voluntarily cede" the whole of Canada and Nova Scotia to the United States.\* On his return to London, Mr. Oswald reported to Lord Shelburne the result of his mission, and handed him the confidential notes, afterwards known in the negotiations as the "Canada paper."

Lord Shelburne gave only a partial outline of Mr. Oswald's report to his colleagues; for he withheld from them all knowledge of the "Canada paper." The excuse offered for him was, that "there was nothing either in the contents of the paper, or in the manner in which it came into his hands which rendered it incumbent on him to communicate it to his colleagues; and he thought best not to send any formal answer to it."†

It was through a casual remark of Mr. Oswald, in June, that the existence of the Canada paper became known to Mr. Grenville, then representative of the Foreign Office at Paris, who at once reported the matter to Mr. Fox, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In his reply, dated 10th June, Mr. Fox said, "the paper relative to Canada I never heard of till I received your letter; and it may be said that Shelburne has withheld from our knowledge matters of importance to the negotiations."‡

The reticence of Lord Shelburne in not disclosing to the Crown, or his colleagues, the secret and confidential propo-

\* *Spark's Life and Writings of Franklin*, v. 9, p. 250.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 183.

‡ *Life of Charles James Fox*, by Lord John Russell, v. 1, p. 313.

sition for the cession of Canada and Nova Scotia, cannot be defended.\* In the opinion of Lord John Russell, "It is impossible to justify Lord Shelburne for his favorable reception of so important a paper as the one he had received from Franklin about Canada, without communicating the substance of it at least to his colleagues."† The paper also dealt with the question of reparation for the towns and villages which had been burnt by the British and their Indian allies, and gave several arguments why Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded to the United States, closing with the very tempting inducements that Great Britain should "in all times coming have and enjoy the right of Free Trade thither, unincumbered with any duties whatever; and that so much of the vacant lands there shall be sold as will raise a sum sufficient to pay for the houses burnt by the British troops and their Indians, and also to indemnify the Royalists for the confiscation of their estates."‡

Evidence proving Lord Shelburne's failure of duty is furnished by himself in his "Memorandum to Mr. Oswald in conversation," in which he outlined the policy respecting Canada:—

"The private paper desires Canada for three reasons:—

"1st. By way of reparation—*Answer*: No reparation can be heard of.

"2nd. To prevent future wars—*Answer*: It is hoped that some more friendly method will be found.

"3rd. Loyalists, as a fund of indemnification to them—*Answer*: No independence to be acknowledged without their being taken care of. A compensation expected for New York, Charleston and Savannah. Penobscott to be always kept."§

\* Lord Shelburne subsequently declared that "the great advantage of Monarchy in the British Constitution was that it trusted to the Crown the secrets which must necessarily attend all negotiations with Foreign Powers."—*Parliamentary History*, v. 23, p. 309.

† *Memorials of Fox*, v. 1, p. 384. ‡ *Sparks's Franklin*, v. 9, p. 252.

§ *Lewis's Administrations of Great Britain*, p. 47; *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 188.

None of these instructions were communicated to the Cabinet, or obtained the sanction of the King ; and it is doubtful whether those respecting the "Canada Paper" were more than mere notes for conversation, or were ever communicated to Mr. Oswald ; for Sir G. C. Lewis says : "The probability is that Lord Shelburne made no remark upon it (the Canada paper) to Oswald, fearing that it might offend Franklin ; and that Oswald construed his silence into approbation."\*

This view appears to be sustained by the entry in Dr. Franklin's diary that, on his return to Paris in May, "Mr. Oswald reported to me his opinion that the affair of Canada would be settled to our satisfaction, and that it was his wish that it might not be mentioned till towards the end of the Treaty."† Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice confirms this by saying that when Mr. Oswald returned the Canada paper to Dr. Franklin, "he expressed his own personal conviction that it had made an impression, and that if the matter were not given undue prominence during the early stages of the negotiation, a settlement satisfactory to America might still be ultimately arrived at in regard to the cession of Canada and Nova Scotia."‡

Acting on such partial report of Mr. Oswald's mission as Lord Shelburne made to his colleagues, the Cabinet, on the 23rd April, 1782, agreed to the following minute : "It is humbly submitted to His Majesty that Mr. Oswald shall return to Paris, with authority to name Paris as the place, and to settle with Dr. Franklin the most convenient time for setting on foot a negotiation for a general peace, and to represent to him that the principal points in contemplation are the allowance of independence to America, upon Great Britain's being restored to the situation she was placed in by the Treaty of 1763 ; and that Mr. Fox shall submit to the consideration of the King a proper person to make a similar communication to M. de Vergennes."§ The reference to the Treaty of 1763, and, in a later Minute,

\* *Lewis's Administrations*, p. 48.

† *Sparks's Franklin*, v. 9, p. 269.

‡ *Lieut. Genl. Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 191.

§ *Memorials of Fox*, v. 1, p. 345.

dated 18th May, 1782, would lead to the inference that Canada was to be retained; for its cession by France to Great Britain, and the delimitation of its boundaries to the Mississippi, had been there settled; and rendered it all the more incumbent upon Lord Shelburne to disclose to his colleagues Dr. Franklin's secret and confidential proposition about the cession of Canada.

Mr. Oswald was shorn of the Samson locks of his diplomatic strength when he confided to Dr. Franklin his personal opinion that the conquest of Canada by Great Britain had been detrimental to the relations of the American colonies to the Empire,—an opinion not shared by Dr. Franklin, as will presently appear. And when Dr. Franklin hinted that "England should make us a voluntary offer of Canada" he found that "Mr. Oswald much liked the idea," and promised "that he should endeavour to persuade their doing it."\*

Lord Shelburne's biographer relates how Mr. Oswald also indiscreetly disclosed to the American representative the confidential and personal opinions of the Cabinet: "Oswald told Franklin that personally he agreed with him, and he also mentioned that he had not concealed his opinion when in England, but had urged the cession of Canada during an interview with Rockingham, Shelburne and Fox. The two former, he said, spoke reservedly on the point, but in his opinion did not seem very averse to it. Fox, however, seemed startled at the proposition."† This statement is confirmed by an entry in Dr. Franklin's diary.

The death of Lord Rockingham, and the succession of Lord Shelburne to the Premiership, led to the resignation of Mr. Fox, which was followed by the withdrawal of Mr. Grenville from Paris; and enabled Lord Shelburne to comply with Dr. Franklin's urgent request that Mr. Oswald should be sent to treat. Accordingly, Lord Shelburne's "pacifical man" became the British plenipotentiary under

\* *Sparks's Franklin*, v. 9, p. 254.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 206; *Sparks's Franklin*, v. 9, p. 316.

a Commission, drafted for the British Ministry by Mr. Jay,\* authorising him to treat with "the Commissioners of the United States," for the settlement of great political and territorial interests which eminently required an experienced and adroit negotiator, skilled in cool, judicious, and scientific diplomacy, and one who had a local knowledge of America, equal to that possessed by the American Commissioners.

Canada, at that time, was one of Great Britain's largest and most important territorial possessions; for it included not only her present great domain, but also the Great Lakes and the rich agricultural territory south of Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior down to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers,—out of which southern, and subsequently ceded, territory containing about 270,000 square miles have been formed the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota,†—a territory contemptuously described by Mr. Oswald in his despatches as the "*back lands of Canada*," "*a country worth nothing, and of no importance*;" but which, if retained by Great Britain, would have made her combined Canadian possessions 3,916,297 square miles, or larger than the territorial area of Russia in Europe and Asia (excluding Siberia); and thereby constituted British influence the dominant power on the American continent.

But Great Britain was then more intent upon humbling the European nations which had challenged her supremacy as a Sea Power, by despoiling them of their territorial possessions, than in acquiring colonial homes for her adventurous people, and markets for her manufactures, which, in our times, is her more imperial and beneficent policy. A century ago she governed her colonies after an autocratic

\* "It was a singular circumstance that one who had lately been regarded as a rebel-subject of the British monarch, should now prepare a commission from that monarch by which his late Colonies were to be acknowledged free and independent."—*Life of John Jay*, v. 1, p. 143.

† To these must be added the "Indian territory" so designated in the Proclamation of 1763, lying between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers (which had formed no part of the old Colonies).

and old-fashioned parental despotism, for she recognized, and would then learn, no other. While her army and navy were adding to her colonial empire, her home statesmen, forgetting the constitutional traditions of her island people, and the revolutionary teachings of a home despotism, denied those traditions to their colonial brethren, and imposed on them a despotism which recalled the island precedents of revolutionary relief, and ultimately caused the loss of a growing colonial empire, and a loyal and sympathetic kindred.

The value of Canada to the Empire,—won on Canadian battle-grounds from France,—was well known to Dr. Franklin, the writer of the "Canada paper," for he had the year after its conquest thus graphically sketched its brilliant future in a letter to Lord Kames :

"No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do on the reduction of Canada ; and this not merely as I am a Colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America ; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are nevertheless broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am, therefore, by no means for restoring Canada to France. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will, in another century, be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous by the immense increase of its commerce ; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships ; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the globe, and awe the world."\*

Such was the prophetic picture of British supremacy in the future Canada drawn by the man who now coveted it for his nation, and to whom the British representative imparted the gratifying information that, before he left England, he had advised her Ministers "that Canada should be given up to the United States, as it would prevent occasions of future difference, and as the Government of such a country was worth nothing and of no importance."

About this time another, and perhaps more maladroit, negotiator, Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, an intimate friend of

\* *Life of Franklin, written by Himself*, v. 1, p. 399.



Dr. Franklin,\* was despatched by Lord Shelburne "to give private assurances to the latter that the change of Administration brought with it no change of policy."† Mr. Vaughan appears to have been a twin neophyte in diplomacy to Mr. Oswald, for he indiscreetly admitted to Mr. Adams that many of the best men in England "were for giving up Canada and Nova Scotia." But his peculiar qualities may be estimated from the effusive pathos he poured out in a letter to Dr. Franklin, which must have been smilingly read by that astute diplomatist :

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am so agitated with the present crisis that I cannot help writing to you, to beseech you, again and again, to meditate upon some mild expedient about the refugees, or to give a favorable ear and helping hand to such as may turn up. If I can judge of favorable moments, the present is of all others most favorable. We have liberal American Commissioners at Paris, a liberal English Commissioner, and a liberal First Minister in England. All these circumstances may vanish to-morrow, if the treaty blows over. I pray, then, my dearest, dearest Sir, that you would a little take this matter to heart. If the refugees are not silenced, you must be sensible what constant prompters to evil measures you leave us ; what perpetual sources of bad information. If the Minister is able, on the other hand, to hold up his head on this one point, you must see how much easier it will be for you both to carry on the great work of the union, as far as relates to Prince and people. Besides, you are the most magnanimous nation, and can excuse things to your people, which *we* can less excuse to *ours*. To judge which is the hardest task, yours or England's, put yourself in Lord Shelburne's place. The only marks of confidence shown him at Paris are such as he *dares not name*. Excuse this freedom, my dearest Sir ; it is the result of a very warm heart, that thinks a little property *nothing*, to much happiness. I do not, however, ask you to do a dishonorable thing, but simply to save England and to give our English Ministry the means of saying on the 5th December that we have done more than the last Ministry have done. I hope you will not think this zeal persecution."‡

Prior to the arrival of this very undiplomatic negotiator in Paris, the French Government had intimated to the American Congress that the combined influence of France and Spain was hostile to the extension of their boundaries through Canadian territory to the Mississippi, and to their

\* Mr. Vaughan had edited Dr. Franklin's *Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces*, in 1779.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 242. ‡ *Sparks's Franklin*, v. 9, p. 433.

claims to the Canadian Fisheries. And M. de Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, emphasised this in Paris by arguing with the American Commissioners in favor of England, and by declaring that the demands of the Americans were unreasonable, and that France would not continue the war for American objects.\* Nor were the English Ministers ignorant of this decision of the allied powers. Mr. Fitzherbert, the British Plenipotentiary to France, was also informed by the French Minister that it was the joint policy of France and Spain to shut out the United States from the Mississippi, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the great lakes, and the fisheries; and he was urged to concur with France in a concert of measures for that purpose,—because it could only be accomplished by the approval and aid of Great Britain.† And M. de Rayneval, who had been sent to London on a confidential mission, to the British Ministry, also expressed to them the “strong opinion” of the French Government “against the American claims to the fisheries, and to the valley of the Mississippi and the Ohio.” “These opinions,” says Lord Shelburne’s biographer, “were carefully noted by Shelburne and Grantham.”‡

During these negotiations, the naval victory of Lord Rodney over the French fleet under De Grasse, and the successes of Sir George Elliot and Lord Howe, at Gibraltar, had ruined the sea power of France and Spain, and had given the finishing blow to the European war against Great Britain. In America, Congress, in acknowledgment of the material aid of France in assisting the United States to a national existence, had given imperative instructions to the American Commissioners that in their negotiations with Great Britain they were “to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the Ministers of our generous ally the King of France, and to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce, without

\* *Winsor's United States*, v. 7, p. 140.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 120 and 122.

‡ *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 263.

their knowledge and concurrence; and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion."\*

Nor was Lord Shelburne's Government without material aid from the American Congress. In the session of 1779 Congress had instructed its Commissioners, in any negotiations with Great Britain, to insist upon the grant of independence, the Mississippi boundaries, and the Fisheries, as *ultimata*. But in June, 1781, Congress withdrew their claims respecting the Mississippi boundaries and fisheries, and instructed their Commissioners that "a desire of terminating the war has induced us not to make the acquisition of these objects an *ultimatum* on the present occasion."†

The American Commissioners were, therefore, fully aware, before the negotiations commenced, that Congress had limited its *ultimatum* to the independence of the United States. But not being as simple-minded as Mr. Oswald or Mr. Vaughan, they did not evince a reciprocal indiscretion by disclosing this later action of Congress to the British representatives.

At this time the military and financial outlook of the United States was depressing. Washington reported to Congress that it was impossible to recruit the army by voluntary enlistment. Silas Deane in private letters intimated that it would be impossible to maintain the army another year. The Secretary of State wrote Dr. Franklin: "The army demand with importunity their arrears of pay. The Treasury is empty, and there are no adequate means of filling it."‡

Such were the favorable influences surrounding the Ministry of Great Britain in these negotiations. But, careless of the future of Canada, and to the astonishment of the allies of the United States, they yielded to every demand, abandoned the loyalists, and, after losing thirteen British Colonies, in a fit of unintelligible and unappreciated benevo-

\* Trescot's *Diplomacy of the Revolution*, p. 111.

† *Secret Journals of Congress*, v. 2, p. 228.

‡ *History of England in the 18th Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky, v. 4, p. 250-1.

lence, gratuitously made the United States a present of sufficient British Canadian territory to make nine and one-half more—thus adding to the lost and revolted Colonies an empire comprising 351,000 square miles, about equal to the combined territorial area of France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland, and alienizing its British occupants.\*

Mr. Jay, suspecting that M. de Vergennes was "plotting with Fitzherbert in order to exclude the New England fishermen from the Newfoundland banks, and to keep the valley of the Ohio for England,"† induced Mr. Vaughan to return to England‡ and "tell Lord Shelburne of the American sentiment and resolution respecting these matters."§ To which Mr. Adams added his advice: "I desired him—between him and me—to consider whether we could have any real peace with Canada or Nova Scotia in the hands of the English."

Mr. Vaughan accepted the commission of Messrs. Jay and Adams, and agreed to advocate American interests and to impress upon Lord Shelburne "the necessity of taking a decided and manly part respecting America," and not "seek to secure the possession of vast tracks of wilderness." He was successful; and Lord Shelburne and his colleagues thereupon consented to grant "a confinement of the boundaries of Canada" to a narrow strip of territory along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers. In authorising Mr. Oswald to so agree, Mr. Secretary Townshend said: "The third article must be understood and expressed to be confined to the limits of Canada as before the Act of 1774."||

Acting on these instructions, Mr. Oswald provisionally agreed to the outlines of the Treaty drafted by Mr. Jay, and then transmitted to Mr. Townshend the "Minutes

\* The Territory thus added to the United States was afterwards formed into the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 254.

‡ Mr. Lecky says that "Jay despatched a secret messenger of his own" (v. 4, p. 285). Mr. Vaughan was the only one sent.

§ *Winsor's United States*, v. 7, p. 123.

|| MS. Letter, Whitehall, 1st September, 1782.

regarding the Treaty with the Commissioners of the Colonies, and what is required of me by His Majesty's Ministers on that head," in which the following appeared :—

"A cession to the Thirteen States, or to the Congress, of that part of Canada that was added to it by the Act of Parliament in the year 1774,—said to be necessary and indispensable." "The said addition sweeps round behind them; and I make no doubt a refusal would occasion a particular grudge, as a deprivation of an extent of valuable territory the Provinces had counted upon, and only waiting to be settled and taken into their respective Governments." He also urged, as an "advisable article," "a surrender to Congress of every part of the remainder of Canada."

The Act referred to, known as the "Quebec Act," described the boundaries of Canada from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence on much the present lines, thence up that river, and through Lake Ontario and the Niagara River to Lake Erie, to where the boundary of Pennsylvania intersected its shore, thence southward along that boundary to the Ohio river and through it to its confluence with the Mississippi, and thence northward, through the Mississippi river, to the Hudson's Bay Territories.\*

The part of Canada proposed to be retained by this article was the territory north of the boundary line to the St. Lawrence, from thence to Lake Nipissing and from Lake Nipissing west to the Mississippi, giving to the United States nearly the whole of what is now the best settled portion of the Province of Ontario (formerly Upper Canada), and all the Canadian territory and great Lakes southward to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi.

Mr. Oswald's ready assent to the cession of Canada and Nova Scotia desired by Dr. Franklin, appears to have suggested to that astute diplomatist new demands; for

\* The Supreme Court of the United States has held that by the Treaty of Independence, the United States succeeded to the sovereign title which the King of France had in the Canadian territory between the Ohio and Mississippi, and which he ceded to Great Britain in 1763.—*United States v. Repentigny*, 5 Wallace's Reports 211.

Mr. Oswald goes on to say : " Since then [April], and particularly in July last, he proposed that these *back lands of Canada* should be given up, and no allowance made out of that fund for the sufferers on both sides ; but, on the contrary, that a sum of money [£500,000 to £600,000] should be granted by Great Britain for the sufferers in the American cause. I am afraid it will not be possible to bring him back to the proposition made in April, although I shall try it. Meantime I can plead that by resigning the sovereignty into the hands of Congress, the purpose for which he wished to have these additional lands given up (being that of preventing quarrels amongst the inhabitants) will not be disappointed, since Congress may settle them in any manner they think proper, whatever way the value or price of the land is disposed of."\*

Such pleading of the American cause by a British plenipotentiary seems to have aroused the indignation of some members of Lord Shelburne's Cabinet. " Richmond and Keppel were very bitter against Oswald, who, they declared, was only an additional American negotiator, and they proposed to recall him. This Shelburne and Townshend refused to do, as they specially desired that Oswald should be at Paris to negotiate a commercial treaty."†

Diplomatic disaster to British and Canadian interests now seemed imminent. Mr. Jay drafted the Treaty to which Mr. Oswald readily assented, and forwarded to London as " a true copy of what has been agreed on between the American Commissioners and me to be submitted to His Majesty's consideration."‡ It provided for (1) The Independence of the United States ; (2) The cession of nearly the whole of Canada (excepting only the small northern strip along the St. Lawrence river), with the thousands of British subjects by whom it had been settled ; (3) The " right " of the United States to the Canadian Fisheries ;

\* MS. Letter, Oswald to Townshend, Paris, 11th Sept., 1782.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 298.

‡ MS. Letters, Oswald to Townshend, 7 and 8 Oct., 1782.

and (4) The free navigation of the Mississippi to Great Britain,—but without entrance or exit for her ships. Compensation for the Loyalists, reversal of confiscations, and payment of American debts to British merchants, were refused. It has been well said by American writers: "The bargain was struck on the American basis. Considering the only *ultimatum* they were ordered to insist upon, the Americans made a wonderfully good bargain." "The United States could in all reason ask little more of any nation."\*

Lord Shelburne had particularly instructed Mr. Oswald that no independence could be acknowledged without the British Loyalists being indemnified, and their confiscated property restored.† And the French Minister had conceded the justice of these claims by advising the American Commissioners that their views on the subject of the Loyalists were unreasonable.‡ Political hatred, however, influenced American diplomacy; and the British representatives, careless of the justice and honor of their nation, surrendered by assenting to the demand that not a foot of British ground should be left in America where the Loyalists could find a refuge from political persecution, or a home for their families; and by ultimately ceding a rich agricultural territory in the latitude of the homes of the Loyalists which had formed no part of the revolted Colonies.

The Loyalists had been treated with spiteful revenge by the American revolutionists, for no crime save fidelity to the lost cause of Britain. A condensed statement of their sufferings has been given by a gifted writer, whose sympathies are favorable to the United States:

"The first civil war in America was followed, not by amnesty, but by an outpouring of the vengeance of the victors on the fallen. Some Royalists were put to death. Many others were despoiled of all they had, and

\* *John Adams, American Statesmen Series*, p. 220; *Life of John Adams*, v. 2, p. 33. See also *History of England in the 18th Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky, v. 4, p. 263.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 189.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

driven from their country. Massachusetts banished by name 308 of her people, making death the penalty for a second return. New Hampshire proscribed 76; Pennsylvania attainted nearly 500; Delaware confiscated the property of 46; North Carolina, of 65, and of 4 mercantile firms; Georgia also passed an Act of Confiscation; that of Maryland was still more sweeping. South Carolina divided the Loyalists into four classes, inflicting a different punishment upon each. Of the 59 persons attainted in New York, 3 were married women, guilty probably of nothing but adhering to their husbands, members of the Council, or law officers, who were bound in personal honor to be faithful to the Crown. Upon the evacuation of Charleston, as a British Officer who was on the spot stated, the Loyalists were imprisoned, whipped, tarred and feathered, dragged through horse-ponds, and carried about the town with 'Tory' on their breasts. All of them were turned out of their houses and plundered, 24 of them were hanged upon a gallows facing the quay in sight of the British fleet, with the army and refugees on board."\*

Judged by their subsequent action, neither Lord Shelburne nor any of his colleagues appears to have realized, until Mr. Jay's draft treaty was before them, the impending *Decensus Averni* into which they had, partly with their own consent, and partly from want of efficient supervision, drifted under the diplomatic guidance of Messrs. Oswald and Vaughan.

When the extravagant generosity of the Draft Treaty was understood, the King plaintively wrote to Lord Shelburne: "I am too much agitated with the fear of sacrificing the interests of my country . . . that I am unable to add anything on that subject, but most frequent prayers to Heaven to guide me so to act that posterity may not lay the downfall of this once respectable Empire at my door; and that if ruin should attend the measures that may be adopted, I may not long survive them."†

Lord Shelburne, in writing to Mr. Oswald, evidently felt the peril in which his Government stood, and warned him that "the nation would rise to do itself justice, and to recover its wounded honor." Apparently with the hope of averting, if possible, the impending diaster, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Strachey, who had been Secretary to

\* *United States, an Outline of Political History*, by Goldwin Smith, D.C.L., p. 110-1.

† *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 297.



Lord Clive, and was then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was despatched to Paris with instructions to insist upon compensation to the Loyalists, the retention by Great Britain of the "Indian Territory," and of the original boundaries of Canada to the Mississippi, or, if any Canadian territory should be ceded, to charge it with compensation for the Loyalists; to obtain a more favourable boundary of Nova Scotia, and to reject the cession of the Canadian Fisheries.\*

Mr. Strachey, though entering the lists late and single-handed, appears to have fought for his imperilled cause with courageous tenacity, and to have taken a decided stand against Mr. Oswald's concessions. As said by an American writer, he "had been sent from England for the purpose of stiffening the easy nature of Mr. Oswald, but he only succeeded in infusing into the conferences all the asperity which they ever betrayed."† An equally Anglophobe writer says: "Mr. Strachey appeared in Paris as the exponent of English arrogance, insolence, and general offensiveness."‡ But his contemporaries were more just: "Mr. Strachey won an acknowledgement from both sides for his persistent energy and skill. Adams said of him, 'He presses every point as far as it can possibly go. He is a most eager, earnest, and pointed spirit.' And Mr. Oswald, in writing to Mr. Townshend, said, 'He enforced our pretensions by every argument that reason, justice, and humanity could suggest.'"§

Mr. Strachey was too late! Had he appealed to the French Minister, whose policy he knew, he might perhaps have learned that Congress had withdrawn the claims to the fisheries, and the Mississippi boundaries as *ultimata*; and that M. de Vergennes was ready to use the influence which Congress had given France for the purpose of making the American plenipotentiaries more conciliatory.|| Against

\* *Life of Lord Shelburne*, v. 3, p. 281. † *Life of John Adams*, v. 3, p. 39.

‡ *American Statesmen Series, John Adams*, p. 218.

§ *Winsor's United States*, v. 7, p. 139.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 141.

him, however, were the knowledge of Cabinet secrets by the American commissioners, the oft-given assent of his colleagues, Messrs. Oswald and Vaughan,\* to the cession of Canada, and the written assent of the British Ministry to a confinement of its limits to a small strip of territory, and the cession of the remainder to the United States.† He failed, therefore, to get back the rich agricultural territory of southern Canada between the Ohio and Mississippi, but he regained a portion to the present river and lake boundary. He also failed to get the Nova Scotia boundary commence at the Penobscot River, but he recovered the territory between the St. John and St. Croix rivers.

The discussions over the Fishery clauses were prolonged and vehement. Here, again, he had to contend against Mr. Oswald's assent to Mr. Jay's clause which declared that "the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the *right* to take fish" in the Canadian waters, regardless of the usual three mile limit.

Neither Mr. Oswald nor Mr. Strachey appear to have been aware that the secret instructions of the Congress, given in 1779, to its Commissioners respecting the Fisheries (before their withdrawal in 1781), had directed them to concede the three mile distance "from the shores of the territory remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, if a nearer distance cannot be obtained by negotiation."‡ But, apparently in ignorance of this fact, all Canadian shore fishery rights were conceded without even the suggestion,—much less the demand,—of the reciprocal right of Canadians to take fish in American shore waters.

What took place over the Fishery clauses of the Treaty has been dramatically related by Mr. Adams's biographer :

"Mr. Strachey proposed that the word '*right*' in this connection should be changed to '*liberty*.' Mr. Fitzherbert sustained the movement by

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\* "Vaughan, regretting the interposition of Strachey, undertook for a second time to represent the American views to the British Ministry."—*Adams' Works*, v. 3, p. 312.

† MS. Letter, Townshend to Oswald, Whitehall, 1st Sept. 1782.

‡ *Secret Journals of Congress*, v. 3, p. 231; see also Report of Committee of Congress, 8th January, 1782.

remarking that 'right' was an obnoxious expression. The suggestion seems to have fired Mr. Adams, and immediately he burst into an overwhelming defence of the term he had chosen. He rose, and, with the concentrated power which he possessed when excited, declared that when first commissioned as a negotiator with Great Britain, his country had ordered him to make no peace without a clear acknowledgment of the right to the fishery, and by that direction he would stand. No preliminaries should have his signature without it. And here he appealed with some adroitness to Mr. Laurens, who had been President of the Congress when that first commission was given. Mr. Laurens readily responded to the call, and seconded the proposition with characteristic warmth. And Mr. Jay virtually threw his weight into the scale."\*

The biographer of Mr. Adams thereupon paraphrases the sinister maxim "the end justifies the means" by telling us: "The stroke proved decisive," but he apologizes by adding: "The act was the assumption of another prodigious responsibility."† And so it was; for the Americans well knew that the then policy of Congress was not as represented by them, and that the *ultimatum* they asserted with such indignant fervour had been withdrawn. And Mr. Jay confirms this by recording: "Had I not violated the instructions of Congress, their dignity would have been in the dust."‡

When the terms of the Treaty with England became known, the French Government at once demanded an explanation from the American Minister. "I am at a loss," sarcastically wrote M. de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin, "to explain your conduct, and that of your colleagues. You have concluded your preliminary articles without communicating with us, although Congress prescribed that nothing should be done without the concurrence of the King. You are wise and discreet, Sir! You perfectly understand what is due to propriety; you have all your life performed duties. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfil those which are due to the King."§ He also instructed the French Minister at Philadelphia to inform

\* *Life of Adams*, v. 2, p. 44. † *Ibid.*, p. 45. ‡ *Life of Jay*, v. 2, p. 105.

§ Dr. Franklin apologised, and admitted that the French Minister's observations were just, but he hoped that the great work would "not be ruined by a single indiscretion of ours." M. de Vergennes accepted the apology.

the American Secretary of State that the American Commissioners had deceived him, and been guilty of a gross breach of faith; and in writing to M. de Rayneval, he said: "The English have *bought* a peace, not made one. Their concessions have exceeded anything we believed possible."

The closing letters of Mr. Strachey to the Foreign Office give a blunt Englishman's opinion of a specialty he discovered in American diplomacy. In reporting to his chief, he said,—“The Treaty must be re-written in London in regular form, which we had not time to do in Paris, and several expressions, being too loose, should be tightened. These Americans are the greatest quibblers I ever knew.”\* Later on he wrote,—“The Treaty signed and sealed is now sent. I shall set off to-morrow, hoping to arrive on Wednesday, if I am alive. God forbid if I ever should have a hand in such another Peace.”†

Whatever strategic policy may be allowable in scientific diplomacy, it should be controlled by the knowledge that the diplomatist represents the conscience and good faith of his sovereign, and the dignity and honor of his nation. The skilled diplomatist possesses the *tact des convenances*, which unites circumspection and adroitness with perfect integrity,—candid and discreet in the radiant light of his representative station,—a combination of qualities which wins for him a reputation for sagacity and rectitude, and assures to him a recognized supremacy in diplomatic emergencies. Judged by these standards, the reader can say whether this early venture of American diplomacy illustrates the specialty recorded by the British representative; the conduct charged by the French Minister; as well as the sinister strategy frankly avowed by American apologists.‡

The Treaty of 1783 was a humiliating experience to Canada, in the loss of her territory; in the cession of her

\* MS. Letter, Calais, 8th November, 1782.

† MS. Letter, Paris, 30th November, 1782.

‡ See note, end of Article.

Fishery rights ; and in the indefiniteness of her boundaries. Lord Townshend, in the debate on the Treaty, well said : " Why could not some man from Canada, well acquainted with the country, have been thought of for the business which Mr. Oswald was sent to negotiate ? Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Adams had been an overmatch for him ; he either did not know, or appeared ignorant, how the country lay which he had been granting away, as the bargain he had made clearly indicated."\* And a Canadian Lieutenant-Governor reported :—" When Mr. Oswald made a peace with the Americans in 1782, he evinced his total ignorance of this country and its true interests, in the line he fixed as the boundary between us and them."

An historian of the United States says :—" However great the errors committed by England in the American struggle, it must always be remembered to her credit that in the peace negotiations, Shelburne, declining all temptations to a contrary course, endowed the Republic with the gigantic boundaries on the south, west, and north, which determined its coming power and influence, and its opportunities for good."† But the generous endowment was of Canada's territory and to England's loss.

The generosity of Great Britain has, in later years, further " endowed the Republic " with other large portions of Canadian territory, and has made aliens of other British subjects, who had their homes there. During the war of 1812, the British forces and Canadian militia had captured and held possession of Maine on the east, and all of Michigan, and the territory westward to the Mississippi, which had been won back from the United States in fair fight, and, at the close, was held by right of war. Great Britain's historic generosity restored all these conquered territories to the United States, as a peace offering, by the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. Her generosity was unappre-

\* *Parliamentary History*, v. 23, p. 391.

† *Winsor's United States*, v. 7, p. 150.

ciated, and she was afterwards rewarded with the Maine and Oregon boundary disputes, and an angry and insolent threat of war. By the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, she ceded some millions of Canadian acres, which a concealed "Red Line Map" of 1783 would have proved to have been British territory, and her officers gratuitously added a strip of territory between the Connecticut and St. Lawrence rivers—over 150 miles in length—by moving latitude  $45^{\circ}$  about 2,000 yards into Canada, increasing to a mile and a half, north of its true place, and then sloping to the true latitude of  $45^{\circ}$  in the shape of a gore at the St. Lawrence river, because the United States desired to retain the town of Rouse's Point, in which they had built a fort.\* By a carelessly described boundary, she lost large islands in Lake Superior, and about 4,000 acres of an isolated promontory in the Lake of the Woods, 26 miles north of the recognised boundary line; and by later indifference allowed the diplomatic leverage of the United States to pry Canada out of several millions of acres in the Oregon territory with a sea coast and good harbours on the Pacific of about six degrees of latitude; and by describing a boundary line in ignorance of Canadian geography was arbitrated out of the island of San Juan.

From the United States, Canada has received several "baptisms of blood" through filibustering raids fomented in that country, not from any embittered relations between her and the Republic, but solely because of her fealty to Great Britain. The invasions of 1775-76, 1812-14, 1837-38, as well as the Fenian Raids of 1866, 1870 and 1871, were intended to strike an effective blow at the Empire in its most vulnerable part. The Fenian Raids,—repulsed by the Canadian Militia,—were avowed to avenge the alleged British misgovernment of the Irish people. The Government of the United States, though fully cognizant that their Fenian citizens were arming and drilling for the invasion of

\* Winsor's *United States*, v. 7, p. 178. The treaty line was departed from by 4,326 feet north of the true parallel at Rouse's Point.

Canada, never interfered until some of their filibustering hordes had crossed the boundary ; and then, after arresting a few ring-leaders who had been caught red-handed, speedily pardoned and released them.\*

When the Washington Treaty of 1871, which adjusted the Alabama claims, was about to be negotiated, the Canadian Government urged that the claims of Canada arising out of these Fenian Raids should also be adjusted, alleging stronger grounds of negligence and want of due diligence against the United States than those charged by that Government against Great Britain in the Alabama case. The Imperial Government assented ; but owing to the indefinite phraseology of the British letter proposing the negotiations, the High Commissioners for the United States refused to consider the Canadian claims, alleging they did not regard them as coming within the class of subjects indicated in the letter of the British Minister, and that "the claims did not commend themselves to their favour." To this denial of justice to Canada, the British Commissioners stated that "under these circumstances they would not urge further that the settlement of these claims should be included in the Treaty."† The reply of the Colonial Secretary to the Canadian protest against the Treaty was equally curt :— "Canada could not reasonably expect that this country should, for an indefinite period, incur the constant risk of serious misunderstanding with the United States."‡

The political treatment of Canada by the United States may be further illustrated by its actions in carrying out that Treaty. Article 21 provided that fish and fish oil should be admitted free of duty into either country. After the Treaty had been four years in operation Congress passed a law§ that "cans or packages made of tin or other material, containing fish of any kind admitted free of duty under any

\* Canada Sessional Papers (1872), No. 26.

† Protocol on Articles XII. to XVII. of the Washington Treaty of 1871.

‡ Earl of Kimberley to the Governor-General, June 17, 1871.

§ United States Statutes at Large, v. 18, p. 308.

law or Treaty," should be charged with a specific duty—though it was known that the tins, when opened, could not be used again. The duty prohibited entirely the importation of fish from Canada, and rendered the above provision of the Treaty illusory.\*

Article 27 conceded to each nation the reciprocal use of their respective canals. American vessels with cargoes were permitted to pass through all the Canadian canals, and the St. Lawrence river. But Canadian vessels with cargoes were stopped at the junction of the American canals with the water way, and had either to return to Canada or tranship their cargoes into American vessels.†

The McKinley and Dingley tariffs contain many provisions framed to injure Canadian trade with the United States. The latter tariff puts a high duty on Canadian timber imported into that country,—to which is added a rider that if Canada‡ should impose an export duty on sawlogs or other specified timber going into the United States, the prescribed high duty on Canadian timber should be increased by an additional sum equal to the amount of such export duty.

A further attempt to injure the British and Canadian carrying trade was by an amendment surreptitiously introduced into the Dingley tariff, by which a discriminating duty of ten per cent.,—in addition to the high duties therein imposed,—should be levied on all goods carried into the United States by the Canadian railways or British ships. Owing to the bungling phraseology used, the obnoxious amendment failed of the purpose since avowed by its promoters.

The late Sir John Macdonald, who represented Canada in the negotiations for the Treaty of Washington in 1871, realized this indifference to Canadian interests, as well as the historic continuity of the insatiate policy of the United

\* Sir Edward Thornton to the Earl of Derby, April 19, 1875.

† Canada Sessional Papers (1876), No. 111. Subsequently the prohibition was relaxed and Canadian vessels were permitted to proceed as far as Albany.

‡ The words in the Tariff are: "any country or dependency."



States, when he thus wrote to one of his colleagues:—  
 “The American Commissioners have found our English friends so squeezable in nature, that their audacity has grown beyond all bounds.” And he added,—“Having made up my mind that the Americans want everything, and will give us nothing in exchange, one of my chief aims now is to convince the British Commissioners of the unreasonableness of the Yankees.” Disheartened by an unsympathetic response to his efforts, he then wrote,—“I am greatly disappointed at the course taken by the British Commissioners. They seem to have only one thing in their minds,—that is, to go home to England with a Treaty in their pockets,—no matter at what cost to Canada.”\* Since Sir John wrote, the sturdiness of Canadian statesmen, and the modern dream of a Greater United Britain, have somewhat improved the Canadian position in diplomatic negotiations with the United States.

Canada's neighbourhood enables her to appraise at their true value the spasmodic political impulses which now and again find vent—some in vaporous platitudes, and occasionally in heroic, though sometimes simulated, insolence towards Great Britain. For the moment, either will arouse a sympathetic response in a portion of the American community. Sympathy with the latter is largely nurtured by the slow poison of political hostility to Great Britain which is daily imbibed by the youthful Americans from their school and history books; and may excuse the assertion of some Anglophobe newspapers that “American hatred of England is deep-rooted and unslakable.”

Much also of the political unfriendliness to Canada is aggravated by the machine politicians who control the “lobbies” and “rings” and other base powers so graphically described in Professor Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. With these are occasionally allied a certain percentage of citizens of sympathetic and humane instincts, who, knowing better, desire friendliness with Canada, but who allow the mammon of commercial or political unrighteousness to

\* *Life of Sir John A. Macdonald*, by Joseph Pope, v. 2, p. 105.

dominate and warp their political consciences. A larger percentage, however, are influenced, some by Canadian intimacies and relationships, others by a sympathetic interest in the higher functions of humanity, and who seek by the promotion of religious and philanthropic movements to better the social and national manhood of their own nation, and to promote amicable relations with the kindred people of Canada.

The acts of armed hostility and political unneighbourliness on the part of the politicians of the United States instanced above, have, at the times, roused a spirit of resistance and anger,—even a threatened *lex talionis*,—in Canada, which severely tried the political discretion of the energetic and courageous people who for over a century have maintained untarnished the supremacy and honour of Great Britain over one half of the North American continent. But they have patiently and wisely subordinated these experiences to their allegiance and responsibility as members of a great nation, and to a sentimental faith in a more real imperial unity of the Empire.

Let it be remembered that the Crown, as representing the Imperial sovereignty of our great Empire, is the same in the continental colonies as in the island kingdoms. But the present suzerain authority of the island kingdoms over the self-governing colonies,—necessary in their early youth,—is a question which even now looms persuasively on the Imperialistic horizon; for equal rights of citizenship, and of nationhood, and equal authority in Parliamentary government for all the subjects of the Crown, are fundamental axioms of the British Constitution.

NOTE.—Sir John Macdonald, writing confidentially to a colleague in 1871, respecting the Protocols on the Treaty of Washington, said: "The language put into the mouths of the British Commissioners is strictly correct; but I cannot say as much for that of our American colleagues. They have inserted statements as having been made by them, which in fact never were made, in order that they may have an effect on the Senate. My English colleagues were a good deal surprised at the proposition; but as the statements did not prejudice England, we left them at liberty to lie as much as they pleased."—*Life of Sir J. A. Macdonald*, v. 2, p. 134.

# THE WANTS AND PROSPECTS OF CANADA.

BY MCLEOD STEWART

(Ex-mayor of Ottawa).

As the boy growing up to manhood requires the three R's so in a like degree the Young Dominion of Canada—and more especially the North West Territories, growing up to nationhood—require the three I's, Immigration, Intercommunication, and Irrigation. Since Confederation (1867) large sums, running up into millions, have been expended by the different Governments on immigration, with results that are by no means commensurate with the outlay. What we want in Canada, and the congested districts of Great Britain and Ireland should know it, are steady, hard-working farmers with families, and supplied with, say, one hundred and fifty pounds; also, strong young men, without capital, who are anxious to work on farms, learn the ways of the country, save their earnings, and after a few years become the proprietors of their own holdings. We also want sturdy miners from Devonshire and Cornwall with a little capital, who are able and willing to go out to the extensive gold, silver, iron, nickel, copper, coal, phosphate and mica fields, which are simply yearning to be developed. Our country also requires smart, active, and respectable female domestics. These command large wages in comfortable homes. After a while, if matrimonially inclined, they have also every chance of getting excellent husbands.

The opening of the inland navigation of Canada by an air-line water route, which nature has already provided, would be commercially equivalent to putting the North-West one thousand miles nearer to the markets of the world. Even those who have studied the subject, as I have, can scarcely realize all this would mean. For the settlers already there, it would conduce to such an increase in the selling price of their products as to bring them abundant prosperity. Upon this result will, naturally, come the increase of immigration (so much wanted), that will people our great North-West

and make the "Great Lone Land" the home of teeming millions of well-to-do farmers and the abode of thriving miners of gold, silver, coal, and other metals and minerals. The United States North-West lay all unoccupied until the lock was built that gave the ships free passage at Sault St. Marie, Lake Superior. When the greater lock was finished in 1881—the greatest in the world until two more were lately built close by, one on Canadian and the other on United States soil, to accommodate the business created by the first—there began that mighty movement of population which settled the prairies of Minnesota, the Dakotas and Manitoba, and built up the cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth on the American side of the line, with Winnipeg and Port Arthur on our side.

The decrease in the cost of transportation that will follow the deepening of the channels of the lakes, now practically completed, will have a noticeable effect in the same direction; but, to quote the language of the late Congressman Chapman, of Michigan, "deep water through the lakes will be but a lame and impotent conclusion unless supplemented by deep water to the sea." It is my firm conviction that the Imperial and Dominion Government can afford to guarantee the interest on the capital necessary for the opening of the construction simply for its effect upon the settlement of the North-West Territories, and the development of the mines, apart altogether from the benefits to be derived from a military standpoint, which alone are prodigious.

I desire to emphasize the fact that *waterway improvements are not an injury to railway interests, but are always and everywhere a benefit.* We are fortunate in having so broad-minded a man as Sir William Van Horne at the head of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the railway which will be most directly affected by the proposed opening up of internal navigation. He is already gained for the good cause, as are also Chauncey Depew, of the New York Central, Mr. Ingalls, of the Chesapeake and Ohio, and Mr. Hill, of the Great Northern. Such masters of transporta-

tion as I have named, and others who might be mentioned, are advocates of waterway improvements from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest; but we have many railroad men who are too narrow to see anything that lies beyond lines of rails. The waggon-way, the railway, and the waterway—the three transportation agencies by which the commerce of the world is carried—while their fields of action somewhat overlap—are not antagonistic, but complementary. There are conditions, of course, wherein only one form of transportation is available; but put the three alongside, and it will be found that certain classes of traffic can be carried so much more economically by each form of transportation that neither of the others can afford to carry them when the third is available. As an illustration: a study of the reports of the Great Western Railway of England, made a few years ago, showed that they were using 58 per cent. of their equipment in a traffic that produced only 14 per cent. of their total revenue. That low grade freight ought to have been turned over to the canal alongside. I regard it as an axiom that railways will always find the greatest profit and prosperity in hauling high-class freights for a dense population, rather than in carrying the low grade traffic of a thinly-settled region. Those communities will furnish the greatest proportion of high-class freights which have the benefit of water carriage for their raw materials, and inland communities which are so situated that water transportation cannot be brought to their doors will be best built up in population and prosperity by bringing that cheapest of all known forms of transportation as near as possible. The best thing that could happen to a railroad is to have a waterway paralleling every mile of the track. Thus, the opening of a magnificent air-line of water transportation through the heart of Canada, away from the United States, would so immediately and enormously benefit the Canadian Pacific Railway that *that great Corporation could well afford, if other means should fail, to bond its line and open up its water route itself.*

The opening up of the inland navigation of Canada cannot be made without creating a series of water-powers, around every one of which a manufacturing city will spring up, making the beautiful valleys resound from end to end with the whirr of busy wheels, and converting them into scenes of industrial activity. *The saw-log would float down the rivers to mill and factory, but the railway would carry away the finished product.* The peopling of the great North-West would add so greatly to the volume of traffic on its western lines that, in accordance with a well-known law of transportation, the C.P.R. could not only *reduce its rates*—which would benefit the settlers—but could at the same time *increase its dividends*—which would benefit the shareholders, the prosperity of both benefiting the country as a whole.

In 1853, when the project of building a lock at Sault St. Marie was under discussion in the legislature of Michigan, Mr. E. B. Ward, of Detroit, a prominent vessel owner and regarded as one of the most far-seeing business men of his day, wrote that the whole project was jeopardized by advocating a lock so large that its full capacity would not be needed for a hundred years. Yet that lock was outgrown in a few years, and the lock of 1881 was built alongside. When this was finished all concerned thought they had solved the problem for all time. But that, too, was soon outgrown, and the little lock of 1855 (which Mr. Ward thought would not be needed for a hundred years) was blown out with dynamite to make room for the colossal lock just finished, while another of greater capacity has been built just across the river on the Canadian side.

I desire to speak of the rapid growth of the commerce at the Sault canal, and I doubt if the rapidity of this development has ever been surpassed. It was 101,458 tons in 1856, 2,029,000 tons in 1882, and 11,214,333 tons in 1892. The years since 1892 have been years of depression, but in spite of this the traffic passing through the Sault in 1896 was 16,239,161 tons, an increase of nearly 50 per

cent. in four years! If the business of one lock has increased half as much in four years of trade depression as it had done in the preceding thirty-six years, do you think the opening up of the inland navigation can accommodate the traffic which will be offered when all the cities of the upper lakes send their fleets to Lake Huron, and ocean vessels lie with fretting keels at Montreal?

For some years the attention of the Canadian Government has been directed to the necessity for irrigation in that section of the North-west, situated adjacent to the Rocky Mountains, from Calgary southward to the International Boundary, and it is now recognised that the future of that region is dependent to no small extent upon the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of the apportionment and subsequent use of the water-supply available for that purpose. An Act (ch. 30, 57-58 Vic.) was passed in 1894, embodying all the principles which it was thought wise to adopt, founded on the best information on the subject; and in 1895 an amending Act (ch. 33, 58-59 Vic.) was passed, making a few verbal alterations. The abolition of riparian rights and vesting the control of the water in the one strong central authority of the Government was the most important feature of the Act.

In considering the question it will be well to bear in mind that the best American authorities are agreed that the arid and semi-arid portions of the United States, which can be rendered useful for agricultural or pastoral purposes only by the artificial application of water, include an area of five hundred millions of acres.

So far as the Canadian North-west is concerned, out of about two hundred millions of acres of land, between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, available for agricultural and pastoral purposes, not more than about one-fourth, or fifty millions in all, require the artificial application of water.

People rushing to far-off Klondike, Rossland, and other places in British Columbia, should remember that Northern

Ontario and Quebec Districts, in close proximity to the Canadian Pacific Railway, possess advantages that render them attractive as a home for the most progressive races, capable of maintaining hundreds of thousands in agriculture, mining, manufactures and general industries. This climate is also temperate compared with many thickly inhabited parts of the new and old world and the almost completely absorbed homesteads, mineral lands and forests of the United States, the western plains of which, heretofore supposed to possess inexhaustible fertility, are found to be so cursed with drought as to render agriculture too precarious a calling, and the country I have mentioned is near to the great markets of the world. Its water communication is unrivalled and its railway advantages already such as no other country ever possessed in its early days.

A land which can boast of illimitable forests, of woods abounding in game, of lakes and rivers teeming with fish—"a sportsman's paradise";—boundless prairies of fertile lands just awaiting the tickling of the plough; gold, silver, iron, coal, copper, nickel, mica, phosphate and other metals and minerals craving to be developed, is a country of which anyone might be proud.

I see a nation growing up on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Mattawa, the French, the Red, the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboine, and the Bow Rivers: a nation hardy, vigorous and, above all, true to their country and Queen. This nation will be the ally, the auxiliary kingdom, the subsidiary Empire, the right arm, as it were, of Great Britain in peace or war—and when war comes, as it must, sooner or later, then I can only say that among the staunchest men to defend the integrity of the British Empire will be the ever-loyal and true Canadians.



# THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, M.A. ; D.D.

(Balliol College, Oxford.)

## KABILAR, AND HIS FRIEND, VĒL-PĀRI.

### § 1. HISTORICAL GLIMPSES.

OF this renowned poet of Tamil antiquity much is said, written, and (more or less) believed ; but little is really ascertained. His *Agaval* in some shape or other is familiar to everyone, but no one knows the exact germ from which it has grown. In the *Purra-nāmurru* thirty of his poems are found, of which we shall give some account. He is especially renowned as the intimate and faithful friend of King Pāri. His contemporaries are said to have been the Madura bards *Nakkīranār* and *Paranar*. The name KABILAR is very celebrated in Sanskrit tradition. It is a name of Vishṇu, and means "the tawny-coloured one," as Vishṇu was dark, and Kabilar (probably, from the account of his parentage) may have been so likewise. The Founder of the Sāṅkhya philosophy was also called by this name, and was supposed to be an incarnation of the deity. In these poems he is referred to by other poets with profoundest respect as the "Brāhman of unspotted learning" (126) ; as "Kabilar, who in rapid verse poured forth poetry full of varied lore, correct of speech, of far extended praise" (53) ; and as 'Kabilar whose tongue never uttered falsehood' (174).

In one of his pieces (106) there is a remarkable idea :

"Our God whate'er his worshippers devout can find to bring  
Accepts ; rejects not wreath of commonest flowers ;—  
So Pāri, though folks ignorant and mean draw near  
As suppliants, bestows on all his liberal gifts."

We shall see that *Avvai* was supposed to be his sister. This does not seem probable, or even possible ; but there is something in his verses that reminds one forcibly of her. They seem both of them to have had strong practical good sense, and a very genial way of looking at life. I could almost fancy them brother and sister.

He wrote in praise of several kings, for it was as a wandering minstrel that he chiefly gained his livelihood. One of these chieftains ruled over the *Çāra* kingdom, and was called *Çeramān-kaḍumkō-Vāriyāthan*. He is said to have rewarded him with large treasures and much land. This king one day, taking his hand and feeling it, asked him, "Why is your hand so soft?" The answer was a lyric of nineteen lines (14).

"O brave king, urging on your war elephants, you have broken down the strongholds of your foe ; with well-wrought iron goad you have driven them on to bear the brunt of the fierce fight ; you have guided your charger over the moat and fortifications of your enemies' citadel ; riding on stately chariot, your side bearing the quiver, you have bent your bow, and shot forth deadly arrows ; and on suppliants have you with liberal hand bestowed your gifts. Thus strong and mighty is your broad hand that reaches to your foot !\* We know no other toil than the eating of savoury curry and rice prepared by

\* This is a favourite expression in these lyrics. It is a commendation of a king that standing upright he can touch at least his knee, some say his ankles, with the tips of his

your beneficence amidst rich perfumes ; and so, mighty one, who art like the conquering Murugan, our hands are soft !"

Another of his pieces on the same king is somewhat hyperbolic (8) :

"O Sun, thou canst not rival Çēralāthan whom all obey, who brooks no rival, who bestows lavish gifts, who is the lord of conquering hosts ; for thou must bide thy time to shine, dost turn thy back at eventide, dost change thy place from hour to hour, dost hide thyself behind the hills, dost only in the day season shine in the broad expanse of heaven."

§ 2. PĀRI.

But the best of his songs are connected with Pāri, who was a very celebrated king\* of the south, always enumerated among the seven most liberal of the later petty rulers in South India.

The following is at least picturesque.

PĀRI'S MOUNTAIN HOME. (P.N.N. 109.)

"Sad indeed is Pāri's mountain home !  
Though ye three Kings with sound of dreaded drum besiege,  
Untill'd four kinds of produce rich it bears.  
And first, the *bambu*\* with its tiny leaf yields rice-like grain ;  
The second is the *jack-fruit*† sweet and pulpy store ;  
The third, the root of the rich *valli*‡ creeping plant ;  
The fourth, *honey* dripping where squirrels leap  
From tree to tree on the long line of lofty hills.  
His mount soars like the sky. The brooks  
That murmur on their slopes are bright as stars of heaven.  
Though ye had elephants to tie to every tree,  
And chariots covering every field,  
By valour shall ye ne'er obtain the hill !  
No sword shall gain the prize !  
I know the way to win his hill from him ;  
Take ye the tiny lute, and sing sweet songs,—  
Maidens with wealth of fragrant locks,—  
Come but with dance and song, you'll gain the country all and every hill !"

This chieftain's fortress was on a hill called *Parrambu* (109), and he held 300 villages around it ; but so great was his generosity that he left himself at length nothing but his fortress (110).§ The three kings, the Pāṇḍian, the Çōran, and the Çēran, whom he had often defeated in battle, besieged his fortress, but were unable to take it. It is said that they slew him with guile, but the particulars are not transmitted to us. It rather seems probable that he became an ascetic, and died "in the north." He had two daughters who are among the Singers of the time. Pāri himself was no mean poet. His death left the Princesses, who were very young and unmarried, entirely dependent upon their late father's friend and minstrel *Kabilar*, a number of whose songs relating to his beloved master are contained in this collection.

fingers ! This is said to have been the case with the great *Sivaji*. It would almost point to a descent from the far-famed ancestral ape !

\* The *Bambusa Arundinacea* yields a seed which is sometimes eaten instead of rice.

† The fruit of the *Artocarpus integrifolia* is largely eaten. The seeds when parched and pounded make a kind of flour. ‡ *Dioscorea*. The yam, or sweet potatoe.

§ A curious tradition says that he gave a chariot to the Jessamine Mullai : *Jasminum Trichotomum*, or "November flower" (Pp. III. 88) ; but what this precisely signifies no one seems to know. I rather infer that it was some female minstrel of the name.

The following is one of them, which gives a true picture of Pāri's hill (105):

"O bright-browed damsel! thou shalt obtain ornaments of ruddy gold, if thou go to Pāri to sing his praise; he is more propitious than the streams that from the peaks of the chain of hills that rise like the steps of a *bamboo* ladder, flow down through the channel of the broad fields that receive the mountain torrent, that never dries up, whether it rain or no; while the cool drops fall refreshing on the young lily flowers with their expanded leaves, around which the beetles hum."

The wonderful simple pathos of some of the hymns that refer to Pāri, his daughters, and his hill is very remarkable, but much of their grace must disappear in any attempt at translation. In all accounts of Pāri his liberality is especially mentioned. He literally gave away everything,—every acre of his land, and every village. And this gives us an idea of the effect produced upon these simple mountain warrior chiefs by the music and verse of the trained bards that came as mendicants, attended by multitudes of their dependants and kinsfolk, like swarms of locusts spreading over the hills. In one song (109) Kabilar says of Pāri that nothing could ever be extracted from him by war, but that minstrels might sing away from him all that he possessed:

"O ye that would grow rich by Pāri's spoils,  
Away with swords and spears! Tune your sweet lutes!"

These minstrels, who travelled in what might almost be called predatory bands, amused and diversified the life of these hill chieftains, when they were not engaged in marauding expeditions. The circumstances are not at all unlike those depicted in some of Sir Walter Scott's Ballads. The history of Pāri shows moreover how the ruin of at least one simple minded, brave, but too impressible, chieftain was brought about. He (and it was no isolated case) gave away the villages upon which his revenues depended, and gradually became the lord of only a hill capped with a fortress, and surrounded by a forest where scanty cultivation alone was possible. It is, in one way, very sad to see these old hills desolate; but some of them are now pleasant health resorts for weary English folk.

Once only do we catch a glimpse of Kabilar after the death of his friend Pāri and the settlement of his daughters. It may be remarked by the way that he found great difficulty in obtaining a suitable home for the orphans (comp. 200-202). Their desolation finds beautiful expression in some of the songs. In the 236th lyric we find that the poet had made his way "to the north," that is (as I understand it), he had become an ascetic, and perhaps he had retired there to end his life by a voluntary death. At any rate he went there to die, and this is his "Swan-Song":

#### KABILAR'S LAST SONG.

"O Pāri, rich in gifts; lord of the hills where fruits hang on the trees,  
While herds of antelopes feed on them, and woodmen armed with bows join the repast!  
Thou hast not faithful proved to friendship's bond that joined us two.  
It seems as though at last thou hatedst me.  
Through all those years thou wert my helper true, and yet  
In death thou wouldst not take me with thee; left me behind!  
By this desertion seems thy friendship incomplete.

Here in this birth we meet no more, nor joy  
As we were wont ; but in another birth  
I look that lofty fate shall join us once again,  
And I shall see thee yet, nor lose the vision evermore."

§ 3. THE MYTH AND THE AGAVAL.

Beyond these glimpses Kabilar's history seems to be almost entirely fabulous; but the legends are bits of Tamil story, one with which the student of Tamil should be acquainted, being closely connected with the mythic histories of *Tiru-Valluvar* and *Auvai*. It is said that in the time of Ukkira-Peru-Vaṛuthiyār, King of Madura, there was a Brāhman of the Čōra land called *Pagavan*, who took to him as wife a woman of the lowest caste, called *Āthi* of *Karūr*. To her he was faithful, and they had four daughters and three sons. They led a wandering life. The father seems to have been a mendicant. In each place where a child was born it was abandoned, sometimes in the jungle, sometimes in the precincts of a sacred shrine; but, strange to say, each infant when deserted, opened its mouth and, inspired by the divinity, sang a quatrain of classic Tamil to comfort the mother. These may be read in the ordinary mythic histories of the great author of the *Kurral*, who himself was the sixth of the wonderful family, of which *Auviyār* (or *Avvai*) was the second child, and Kabilar the seventh. The names of the others have no interest for us. The verse that the infant Kabilar then sung must take precedence of his other works. It runs thus:

"Who from the womb till now hath kept,  
Hath He then failed, or passed away to lands unknown?  
Or hath His love unheeding slept?  
O mother say; or wakes it like thine own?"

The story goes on to say that when he was of age to be invested with the sacred thread worn by Brāhmins, the headmen of the village remonstrated, declaring that he was of low caste. The tradition says that he then came forward, and sang the song which under the name of "*Agaval*" is exceedingly celebrated throughout the Tamil country. Its style seems to indicate that it was composed at a much later period; but no Tamil man will listen to any doubt of its genuineness. The *Agaval* is a song of a very loose metrical composition, intended to be sung to the accompaniment of a lute. This "*Agaval* of Kabilar" is throughout a vehement protest against many ideas current among the people of the South. We give a rough translation, somewhat condensed, of this remarkable composition, which every student of Tamil should read carefully.

KABILAR'S AGAVAL.

I.

When we explore the precious things of wondrous worth contain'd  
In this vast world, by the "Four-faced" \* framed  
Was the male first? the female first? or was the sexless thing the first?  
Were constellations, or the planets first? Was good or evil first?  
Is wealth the thing most excellent, or knowledge?  
Is the vast and ancient globe appearance or creation?  
Is all organic being natural, or made?  
Do men die off through lapse of time? Is death a fiction too?

\* *Brahmā*, the Demiurge.

Will evil's poison die, or still undying spread ?  
 When sentient man dies off, the five-fold world of sense,  
 What will it do ? Whither will it depart ?  
 O men of might, if you perform rare penances  
 Will you some other body gain ? or will your own body bide ?  
 When you eat is't the body eats, or is't the "Life" ?\*

## II.

O men of the world, O men of the world !  
 With my tongue as the stick, and mouth as the drum, I sound out my teaching.  
 List to my words, list to my words !  
 To men life's period goes not beyond a hundred years ;  
 Fifty of these are spent in night and sleep ;  
 Five pass away in dependent childhood ;  
 And three times five in aimless youth ;—  
 Seventy are gone, THIRTY remain !  
 And of these  
 Some days are days of pleasure ;  
 Some days are days of affliction !  
 Wealth is like a swelling stream ; that stream's  
 Crumbling bank is youth. A tree  
 Upon that bank, so unstable, is your joyous lifetime !

## III.

One thing only should ye do ; that one thing  
 Should be good alone : that one good thing  
 This very day should ye do ; this day's  
 Present hour should ye do it ; but still  
 "To-morrow," "to-morrow," if ye say  
 Ye know not the fated day of death's approach.  
 Ye know not the number of the days fate hath assigned to each !  
 Death will come, it may be any hour.  
 Then should ye meet that Lord of Death  
 With courteous words, he won't depart ; offer him wealth, he won't depart ;  
 Bid him begone, he won't depart ; let friends throng round, he won't depart !  
 He won't leave you because you are good. He won't pity your poverty.  
 He won't leave you because you are bad ; he won't respect your wealth.  
 He won't delay one instant, he is fierce of eye.  
 He will carry away your "life" ; the body he bears not off.

## IV.

Why wail ye poor mortals ?  
 Is it for the "life" lost, or for the body lost ?  
 Should ye say, "We wail for the 'life' lost,"  
 The body ye saw not erewhile, and ye see not again.  
 The body that hath lost its life they drag as a thief caught in the theft,  
 They bind the feet, they bind the hands,  
 They strip off the garments, and tie the waist-cloth,  
 They kindle fire in the burning-ground,  
 They burn it to ashes, plunge in the stream,  
 There go your kindred and wail with anguished minds.  
 Shall we call this folly ? or deem it sense ?

## V.

O ye Brāhmans, hear me when I speak,  
 When they put you here as dead†  
 You utter many made-up *mantras* ; and then  
 When their sons put food before you

\* "Life, breath, spirit, soul."

† "To do offices for the dead."

Do the dead return afflicted with hunger ?  
Do they stretch out hands and stand ? Has any seen it so ?  
By the food that was eaten whose hunger was assuaged ?

VI.

The Oṭṭiyars, the Outcasts, the Huns, the Singhalese,  
The Moors with slender forms, the Greeks,\* the Chinese,  
All these dwellers in many lands have no Brāhmans !  
As if an elder creation, with customs diverse,  
Ye have appointed in this land your fourfold caste,  
With the ordinance that some should be high, and some should be low.  
A bullock and a buffalo are species diverse in birth ;  
Has anyone known that these have joined to form some mingled race ?  
But in the human race all are one caste ;  
Only two species midst the castes ye find :  
The male and female, and from these proceeds a kindred race.  
In whatever land ye sow whatever seed  
In that land that selfsame seed springs up.  
No seed produces diverse plants.  
Brāhmans are the fathers, outcast women are the mothers,  
Still the children are they not Brāhmans too ?  
The buffalo and bullock are diverse to the eye.  
Is there such difference in men ? Have you so seen it ?  
In length of days, limbs, body, form and skill  
Doth any difference of varying caste appear ?  
If from the south an outcast northward goes  
He may become a Brāhman skilled in Vedic lore.  
A Brāhman from the northern land if to the south he make his way  
May change his mode of life, and straight an outcast may become.

VII.

Howe'er that be—  
Brahmā, who from the mudborn lotus sprang,  
Was sire to Vasishṭha, and the mother was a dancing-girl,†  
Vaishṭha took a low-caste maiden ; Çaktiyār was their son.  
Çaktiyār took to him an outcast maid ; their son was Parāçarar.  
Parāçarar wedded a fisher-girl : their son was Vyāsar.  
These four chanted the sacred writings, and were great ;  
Renowned ascetics they became, clothed with illustrious praise.

VIII.

In Karūr's city great a sage for penitence renowned,  
Great *Pagavan*, wedded a low-caste maiden large of eye,  
And *Āthi* was her name. Her son was I myself,  
And *Kabilar* my name. You ask who were  
My brothers and my sisters : brothers were three, and sisters four.  
In brief I'll tell you how we all grew up.  
In *Ūṭṭukāḍu*, in a washerman's hut, *Uppai* was reared.  
In *Kāviri-pūm-paṭṭinam*'s ‡ suburb, where they toddy sell,  
In dwelling of some worthy folk was *Uruvai* brought up.  
In suburb where dwell those who make lute-strings  
In minstrel's home was *Avvai* nourished.  
In dwelling of a chief of hillmen, on slope of a great hill,  
Mid millet harvests rich *Vallī* was nurtured.  
In *Toṇḍai* land, in *Mayilai* for Tamil lore renowned,

\* *Greeks*, 56.

† *Ūrvaçi* : but the myths are variously given. See *MUIR*, Vol. I.

‡ See *Pope's Nālaḍiyār*, p. 160.

By *pariahs* was Valluvar brought up.\*  
 In *Vañji* girt with groves where beetles hum, mid opening flowers,  
 By *Athigan* was Athigamān sustained.  
 In *Arūr* where copious waters flow adown the crags,  
 In *Brāhman's* house I found my home.  
 Doth the rain fall only on a chosen few?  
 Doth the wind passing over some, refresh a chosen few?  
 Doth the mighty earth say of some, "I will not bear them"?  
 Doth the radiant sun say of some, "I will not warm them"?  
 Is food found for higher castes in the cultivated lands?  
 And for the lower castes in the wilderness?  
 Does wealth or poverty or gain of pious acts, or death, come otherwise upon  
     this earth to some?  
 Caste is but one. Family is but one.  
 Death is but one. Birth is but one.  
 The Godhead worshipped is but one.

## IX.

Therefore, transgress ye not the words the ancients spake.  
 Each day give ye to them who ask of you.  
 Shun meanness, murder, theft. Bide in the way of virtue that abides.  
 Say not this teaching's false.  
 But tell me foolish ones, can accident of birth confer  
 What excellence and virtue can impart?

Thus ends the famous *Agaval*.

## § 4. KABILAR IN MADURA, AND THE "HIGHLAND SONG."

What the effect of this wonderful sermon, poured forth by the child to the assemblage of the Brāhman elders may have been, is not recorded, but in the *Purra-nānnūrru* he is always mentioned with profound respect as the "Spotless Brāhman." He evidently mingled with the chief poets of Madura, whether they ever formed a "College" or not, and was the friend and intimate companion of kings and minor hill chieftains not a few. It would seem that he in some way was a teacher of Tamil, for the most interesting of his writings, of which we shall give an abstract, is said to have been composed in order to instruct in Tamil *Piragattan* (Brahmadattan) an *Aryan* king. (History knows nothing of this personage.) The poem referred to is called "The Highland Song,"† and is printed in the collection of "Ten Poems," published by the very learned and indefatigable Pandit Čāmināthaiyar of Kumbaconam. It has a full commentary by that chief of Tamil commentators Naccinārkkiyār.

This song runs on to 261 lines, and is the story of a Gandharva marriage, with the idea of which *Kālidasa's* famous poem of *Sacuntala* has familiarised most Oriental and many English students. I cannot doubt Kabilar's acquaintance with this and imitation of it. Manu (III. 21, 32) gives an account of the seven species of marriage which are, or were, (more or less) lawful or binding among Hindus. Of these the fourth is the *Gandharva*, or the marriage belonging to the fairy-like inhabitants of Paradise. In the third part of the *Kurral* much that is connected with this is illustrated. The following verse (see my *Kurral*, Ch. cx.) illustrates the subject.

\* See Pope's *Kurral*, Intro.

† Kurriñji Pāṭṭu, VIII Chap. of Pāṭṭu-pāṭṭu.

" Fearless, when maids with golden jewels decked, and youths  
Meet, see and love, they call it still *Gandharva* marriage-bond.  
Thus once the pairs of these, of blameless vision fair, who tuned  
The lute, all gold and radiant, used to join."

This peculiar marriage rite was supposed to be restricted to the second caste or Kshatriyas. It seems to have been very common in the hilly districts of the South, and very much poetry, of varying degree of propriety, is connected with it. The marriage rite consisted in an invocation of *Murugan*,\* vows were made in his name, and water was drunk and (it would seem) poured out as a libation. The marriage was kept secret for an indefinite period, the lovers meeting by stealth; and this is often referred to as affording the highest delight that earth can afford. "Stolen waters" are proverbially "sweet." At some fitting period (sometimes anticipated by premature discovery) the heads of the family were apprised of the union, and in general it was sanctioned and ended in a grand feast; but when consent was refused, there was no way of escape for the unhappy lady save death, and suicide sometimes occurred.

In this poem the names of the persons and of the villages are not given. The bride dwelt in the cultivated plain at the foot of the hill, the young prince was ruler of a hill tract. The poem begins abruptly. The female companion, or governess, of the young bride addresses the mother: "You have seen your daughter day by day languishing, wasted by some hidden grief. You have enquired of the wise, have taken her to the temple, have had resource to charms and incantations, yet the secret of her disease you have not learnt. Be not angry with me if I reveal it. She herself, consents to the discovery. She has contracted a secret marriage of which I was cognisant. It was rendered necessary by destiny, and will be happy, though contracted without the previous consent of parents. She says that if you give her to the husband she has chosen, all will be well; and if not, she can wait till in that other world the union shall take place. Her words were these, and they express her dread of misunderstanding and village scandal, while she is conscious of no evil. She longs for the repose of quiet conventional domestic life.

" Pearls, gems, and gold in precious wreath men twine,  
These fall apart in some unguarded hour,  
But artists' skillful hands again combine:  
See them in all their pristine lustre shine:  
Honour, good name, and virtue's power,  
Once lost, not spotless Brāhmans can restore,  
Wash off the stain, light glory's lamp once more.  
So say the sages versed in ancient lore!"

[This reminds us of Iago's even more rhetorical utterance.]

So she cannot rest till, her heaven-sanctioned vows ratified by consent of parents, and approved by all, she can enter the home of her husband. You remember that you sent us out one bright day, and bade us return at eventide, and meanwhile drive away birds from our grain field." . . . It is the history of that eventful day that the poem gives. *Kabilar* has worked into it every species of Tamil poetical ornament, has accumu-

\* The hill deity.



lated figures of speech and synonyms, so that the poem is quite a *locus classicus* for everything connected with Tamil "Highland verse." The young maiden and her companion ascend one of the scaffolds erected in the grain field by the watchmen, who seated there frighten away the birds with corncrakes, or with pellet bows, and by night kindle their watchfires. A storm comes on, sudden and transient, they bathe in the running stream, run about singing in lightness of heart, and dress their hair with flowers, of which no fewer than a hundred are specified by name, and generally fitted with an epithet. All these flowers it is said are still to be found on the slopes of the southern hills. When they have thus adorned themselves and are seated under the shade of an *Asoka* tree, they hear the furious baying of dogs, and while they are preparing to rush away in fright, a young hunter (like Murugan himself!) richly adorned with jewels and garlands appears, reduces the dogs to silence, soothes the ladies' fears with exquisite courtesy, and inquires if they have seen the game which he was pursuing, and had lost sight of. They are utterly unable to articulate a syllable, and he stands surveying them with astonishment, and satisfied that he has discovered in this young lady the one woman whom he can love. It is love at first sight. The embarrassment is mutual, but things are brought to a point by the entrance on the scene of a wild elephant, pursued by a number of rude mountaineers. It seems that the man on guard had sat down to rest during the heat of the day, and his wife, knowing his taste, had brought him some exquisite toddy which he drank, and so fell into a slumber forgetting his duty as watchman. A rogue elephant, taking advantage of the circumstance, had descended into the valley, and was making a hearty meal of the young grain, trampling down and damaging much more than he ate, after the manner of wild elephants. (Comp. *Puranānūrru* 184.) The mountaineers, becoming aware of this, filled the whole region with their outcries, and shot a multitude of aimless arrows at the monster, which unhurt, but in a furious state of excitement, burst into the little glade where the young prince stood confronting the embarrassed lady and her friend. Frightened out of all sense of propriety, or of that peculiar reserve that a Tamil woman has been taught, our young heroine impulsively rushed to the young hunter for protection, and convulsively clung to him. Thus fate had joined them, and she had been passive in the hands of an all-controlling destiny. This young prince is her heaven-sent husband, and she must be his or die. While she is thus pondering, he taking his bow, fits an arrow on the string, and aiming at the wild elephant causes it to rush wildly away, blood streaming from its forehead. An overwhelming terror seizes both the heroine and her confidante. They rush madly hand in hand down the miry bank to throw themselves into the waters of the mountain torrent. But our hero springs forward, seizes the lady in his arms, and folds her to his bosom, with the words, "Thou art mine, fear not, dream not that I shall ever leave thee," and holding her passionately embraced, smiles at the confidante, as if to say, "Thus has kindly fate joined us." They try to rush away, but he detains them, and with instinctive delicacy reading her mind says within himself: "She is startled and bewildered like a peafowl that has drunk of the sweet intoxicating juices that ooze down from the mountain crag

or like the minstrel-maid who dancing at the village feast is bewildered by the strains of the music. She loves me, and thinks of entering my palace as my wife, the mistress of all. Even so it shall be. Here the Gandharva marriage in due order shall be performed, and after indulging in the luxury of a love known only to ourselves, she shall be brought home in the face of all." Such thoughts were passing through her mind too. We can imagine Dryden's lines applied to her :

"O'er her warm cheek and rising bosom move,  
The bloom of young desire and purple light of love."

He again addresses her, depicting the joyous celebration of the happy day when she shall preside at the feast to which all are bidden, and when after all the guests have eaten he shall receive what remains at her hand as the lady of his home. He then invokes the great Murugan who dwells on the heights of the hills, and uttering the solemn oaths that banish her fear and hesitation, they drink together (as a binding rite) of the cool stream that flows down the hill. The sacred compact is sealed. They wander about amidst the flowery groves, and spend their happy nuptial day in a retreat which the poet Keats might have imagined as Endymion's resting place.

Evening comes at last, and the poet has exhausted his skill in depicting the signs and incidents of the early evening on the mountain slope. The young prince proudly accompanies his bride and her friend to the precincts of the father's fort, and leaves her with these words : "Wait tranquilly a few days while we rejoice in the delicious romance of our unsuspected union ; in a few days I will bring you to your home." The confidante concludes the story with a description of the dangers so dreaded by the bride on her bridegroom's behalf. "Her imagination peoples every grove and every hill with perils to his life in his frequent journeys to and fro. Nor can she longer bear the suspense. Conscious of her own rectitude she dreads what others may say, and what unforeseen impediments may arise ; so she has even urged the discovery of the whole matter."

The duenna adds "He is young, and of unblemished reputation ; for both of them quiet domestic life is best. Even this happy romantic union has its dangers, and might seem deceit. So it had better end in your giving your daughter to the husband heaven has assigned her." Thus somewhat abruptly ends Kabilar's story. It is to be supposed that "they lived happy ever after." We may say in conclusion that it contains one or two expressions (not quite unparalleled in English poetry !) which the growing taste of our South Indian friends may lead them to alter. The days are long past when these romantic unions could take place, and it is well that they should be relegated to the dreamland of a poesy not without its peculiar and fitting charm.

Wordsworth has said that

"Delicious is the lay that sings  
The haunts of happy lovers,  
The path that leads them to the grove  
The leafy grove that covers ;"

and we humbly confess to having found an especial charm in Kabilar's 'Highland' love-song, with which we take our leave of KABILAR.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

A NEW comparative grammar of the Semitic languages has just been published by H. Zimmern, who is an Assyriologist.\* The work, which deals only with one part of this vast and difficult study, and in which the sub-head is *Elemente der Laut und Formenlehre*, is an interesting essay, and very instructive. We regret that the author should have contented himself with only transcribing the Semitic words; the using of Semitic characters, as in Wright's comparative grammar is infinitely preferable. A table of Phœnician, Aramean, Hebrew and South-Semitic hand-writings is added to the book, arranged and drawn by Euting.

We must also mention as coming within the range of general works, a pamphlet, which we propose to go further into when giving it a special review in another place. We refer to the last work of F. Hommel on the ancient Israelite tradition.†

The publications of Hommel, who often is not afraid to start very bold hypotheses, are all of high interest and of real value. We regret, however, that this author should have subordinated the title of his work and implied under a sub-head that he was against the arrangements (Aufstellungen) of the modern critics of the Pentateuch. Why give a scientific work a label, which, in order to make it pass for a "tendential" work, is thus partly deprived of its scientific character?

## BIBLICAL HEBREW.

### *Old Testament—Geography of Palestine.*

Edward König has brought out the third and last volume of the large work which he has undertaken on the Hebrew language.‡ He treats in it of the syntax with the utmost detail. (The volume has 721 pages.)

We welcome the announcement of a new commentary of the Old Testament under the direction of Marti, the well-known Professor of Bern, whose publications we have at different intervals announced and recommended. The collaborators in this important work are all eminent Hebraists, who have no more to make a reputation: Benziger, Bertholet, Budde, Duhm, Holzinger, Wildeboer.

An excellent English work has just been translated into German. It is the introduction of the book of Isaiah, by Cheyne.§ Whoever is acquainted

\* *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1897.

† *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung*, München, G. Franz, 1897.

‡ *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Schlusstheil des historisch-kritischen Lehrgebäudes des Hebräischen), Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1897.

§ *Einleitung in das Buch Jesaja*, übersetzt von I. Böhmer, Giessen, J. Ricker, 1897.

with the writings of the eminent Oxford Professor will endorse our opinion. German is the language of theological studies; to translate into German a remarkable theological work is the sure means of popularizing it and rendering it accessible to a large number of readers.

The geography of Palestine has been enriched with a new work, which, notwithstanding its modest title, is none the less a valuable contribution to that important science. We mean the "*Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*," by L. Gautier.\* We would have had the opportunity on several occasions to speak favourably of the works of this learned Hebraist, the last of which deals thoroughly with the geography of Palestine, and though it only pretends to be an account of travel, is full of information, archaeological and geographical.

We have specially read with the greatest interest all that refers to Hebron and the neighbouring regions. The portions of Palestine that the author visited are: Jerusalem and its environs, Hebron, the land of the Philistines, Samaria, Carmel, St. Jean d'Acre, North Galilee, and the Tyrian coast. We sincerely hope that the author may shortly present French literature with an authoritative geography of old Palestine. He is admirably fitted for the elaboration of such a work.

The second part of the excellent translation of the Old Testament of Kautzsch, part of which includes an abstract of the history of the Biblical Hebrew literature, has appeared in a new edition of a smaller size.† One cannot but be glad of the ever-increasing circulation of this work.

In the two last fasciculi of his "*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*" (vol. ii., Nos. 16 and 17),‡ Clermont Ganneau has commenced the outline of his hypothesis on the probable site of the tombs of David and the Kings of Judah. The account given before the "*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*" in last July and August is of the highest interest. We will come back to it when the whole has come out, as we prefer to have read the whole before we express an opinion as to the possibility of recovering the sepulchres of the Kings of Judah.

In conclusion let us name two publications regarding the religious history of Israel. The most important is a study by G. Kerber, on the Hebrew proper nouns in the Old Testament,§ and the traces which they reveal of the ancient nature religion of Israel. The second is a critical edition, with a translation and an introduction of the rabbinical Apocalypse, under the name of "*Book of Elias*."||

#### SYRIAC.

We will content ourselves by indicating two publications. The first is "*The Hebrew Syriac glossary of Psautier, according to Peschita*," by

\* A thick volume in 8vo. (377 pages) adorned with 59 photographic views by Madame L. Gautier, Lausanne, Bridel and Co., 1897.

† *Abriss der Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Schrifttums*, Freiburg, i. B., und Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1897.

‡ Paris, E. Leroux, 1897.

§ *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen des alten Testaments*, Freiburg, i. B., Leipzig and Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1897.

|| M. Buttenwieser, *Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse*, I. Hälfte, Leipzig, E. Pfeiffer, 1897.

Techen, which has appeared in the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" (Heft II., 1897).

The second is the translation of the Life of Mar Benjamin, by Scheil, in the "Revue de l'Orient Chrétien" (No. 3, 1897), of which the Syriac text is to be found in the Patriarchal Jacobite Library of Mardin, published by Scheil in the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete" (vol. xii.).

#### ARABIC.

Mr. Van Berchem, with a patience, assiduity, and sagacity worthy of the highest praise, continues his researches on Arabic epigraphy, thus preparing gradually a corpus of Arabic inscriptions, for which purpose he has already collected a lot of material. These "Arabic Inscriptions of Syria," which appeared recently,\* contain documents and studies of very great interest. We specially wish to mention: The Seljouk inscriptions of Damascus (475 H.), the inscription of the Emir Anar at Bosra (544 H.), the inscriptions of Nûr-ad-din, and the origin of the rounded characters in Syrian epigraphy (541-569 H.), those of the Sultan Baibars. (658-676 H.), the castle of Balâtunus. With regard to the latter point, we may mention an article full of interest by the same author on the castles of the crusaders in Syria.† This paper is accompanied by a whole series of curious photographic views, which illustrate the subject.

We must also draw attention to Mr. Van Berchem, in the "*Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palestina-Vereins*" (No. 5, 1897), the publication and interpretation of an inscription of Jerusalem important for the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, an inscription which is perhaps mentioned in a text of Eutychius.

## ON SANSKRIT RITUAL LITERATURE.

By C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

*Ritual Litteratur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber von Alfred Hillebrandt.*  
(Strassburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1897.)

THIS work, which is the second Fasciculus of the 3rd volume of the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research edited by G. Bühler, will perhaps prove more interesting to the general public than any of the parts hitherto issued. The ritual literature of the Indians contains express prescriptions for practices, which among the other nations of the Aryan stock exist only as customs. Thus it may reasonably be expected that the careful investigation of the old Indian literature, dealing with domestic ceremonies and sacrificial practices, will eventually pave the way to a Science of Comparative Anthropology no less important in its way than the Science of Comparative Grammar, which in the case at any rate of the Aryan languages, has been built up in recent years with so much success.

\* Extrait des Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien, avec 8 planches en photolithographie, Le Caire, 1897.

† *Bulletin de l'Union syndicale des Architectes français*, No. 7, Paris 1897.

An instance or two will show what is meant.

"It is customary for the bride to weep when she leaves the house of her parents. Now this weeping is a special ceremony in the Indian ritual, and a special verse is prescribed for it, which shows that it is not a private proceeding, but a semi-official act. We find this custom in some districts of modern India ; among the modern Greeks, the bride breaks out into loud lamentations, and endeavours to avoid following the procession, the same custom is also mentioned in Russian Folk-songs ; in Bohemia the bride is expected to weep when leaving the home of her parents ; in the Upper Palatinate she is compelled during the betrothal and afterwards at the feast to weep with such terrible vehemence as to be hardly able to eat anything. From the wide prevalence of this practice it follows that it is not a case of mere sentimentality, but the survival of an old custom, the origin of which is no longer understood, and Winternitz\* is probably right in conjecturing that weeping at weddings is a survival of marriage by capture, of which various relics are found among Aryan peoples." Another custom points to a similar origin. We are told that in Aargau the bachelors impede the progress of the departing wedded pair with sticks and strings, and so on, and these impediments have a red ribbon in the middle of them which the best man is expected to cut through with the marriage sword. In France the wedding procession is impeded by a cord stretched across the road. If we turn to India, we find a similar custom, which the *Āpastamba Sūtra* prescribed in the matter-of-fact style usual in these books : 'With the next verse he stretches two threads on the tracks, a dark-blue thread on the right track ; a red thread on the left track. With the next verse he drives over them.'"

Many other instances are adduced by Professor Hillebrandt to show the close similarity between the marriage customs of the Indians and the Western Aryan nations. We will content ourselves with quoting one of them, which will appeal to all our readers.

"In the *Grihya Sūtras* we find continually repeated the prescription that the bride and bridegroom are to be sprinkled with rice. *Hiranyakeśin* directs that this be done before they start for their new home. According to *Baudhāyana*, relatives throw blades of grass upon the married pair, while they sit on the oxhide. This wide-spread custom, which still exists in India, finds analogies among other Aryan peoples. Among the Parsees in Bombay it is the custom for the priest to scatter grains of corn over the heads of the married pair. The Greeks knew the *καταχύματα* ; among the Romans the bridegroom strewed nuts, among the Croats the bride is sprinkled with wheat, in Bulgaria with small coins and millet." It is perhaps unnecessary to pursue this part of the subject further, as the custom has recently been revived in England, or perhaps has never been discontinued.

The returned schoolboy, who makes it a duty and a pleasure to eat 12 mince-pies between Christmas Day and Twelfth Night, is perhaps not in all cases aware that he is following an old Aryan custom. Professor

\* Professor Hillebrandt refers to the labours of Haas, Weber, Winternitz, and von Schroeder in connexion with this subject.

Hillebrandt observes : "The Indian ritual also takes cognisance of the twelve nights or days, the *Dvādaśāha* or *Dvādaśarātra*, and considers it a holy time." It is interesting to find that a ceremonial cake is found in this connexion among the Hindus. The similarity of the customs connected with the shortest and longest days of the year among the Aryan nations has often been dwelt on, so that it is not necessary to enlarge on the subject. A more unpleasant custom shared by all Aryan nations at some stage or other of their development, is founded on the notion that a building is not destined to last, unless a man or animal is buried in its foundations. All Anglo-Indians can testify that this idea is still prevalent in India, and especially in connexion with bridges. At one time, when a bridge was in construction near Calcutta, no native servant would venture out alone after dark. These instances will suffice to show that Professor Hillebrandt's work is no Dryasdust compilation, but has a direct reference to modern life in Europe and India. At the same time it is a very learned and a very exhaustive treatise. It has four main divisions (1) Value of ritual, its previous history and sources. *Grihyasūtras* or rules for domestic ceremonies ; (2) *Śrautasūtras* or rules for sacrificial ceremonies, and (4) Vedic Sorcery and Witchcraft. The last section will be found particularly interesting, as the similarity of superstitions and incantations among the Aryan natives is perhaps more pronounced than the similarity of customs or ceremonies. One well-known practice was the making of an image of the person that it was desired to win over or injure, in clay, dough, or wax. It was supposed that any process performed in connexion with this image had a corresponding effect on the person whom it was desired to influence.

It is not Professor Hillebrandt's object to treat his subject mainly from the comparative point of view, as this would be alien from the object of the Encyclopædia of which it forms a part. But he gives copious references to authors who have so treated it. Indeed, the references to authorities given at the end of every paragraph form an important part of his work. This system is generally followed in those parts of the Encyclopædia that have appeared. Its full title in German is "*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*." Upwards of thirty scholars of various nationalities are engaged in this colossal undertaking. Some parts will appear in German and some in English. Two parts have already appeared in the latter language, and we believe that arrangements have been made for the eventual translation into English of those that appear in German. This Encyclopædia will be a treasure-house of information on the History and Antiquities of Ancient India.

EIGHTEENTH REVIEW ON THE  
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.  
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XIX.—THE FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING. TRANSLATED  
 BY SAMUEL BEAL.

VOL. XXXII.—VEDIC HYMNS. PART I. TRANSLATED BY  
 F. MAX MÜLLER.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

THE first of these two books in spite of its Chinese title is an Indian work. It is in fact the *Buddha-charita*, a Life of Buddha by Aśwaghosha originally written in Sanskrit, probably in the first century of the Christian era, and translated into Chinese by an Indian priest named Dharmaraksha about the year 420 A.D. The present translator is apparently not acquainted with Sanskrit and has therefore not been able to compare Dharmaraksha's translation with the original. The learned editor however is quoted as expressing the opinion that the Sanskrit text, which has been published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* Series by Professor Cowell, is occasionally obscure and "differs in many places from the Chinese version." The Indian priest appears to have sometimes misunderstood the meaning of the Sanskrit, and sometimes to have suppressed passages which appeared to him not likely to be intelligible or interesting to Chinese readers. The existing Sanskrit text only contains 17 out of the 28 chapters of the Chinese, the latter has therefore preserved portions of the former which have been lost or omitted from the MSS. as we now have them.

Interesting as this fact may be it does not give to the Chinese any special importance. Lives of Buddha abound both in Indian and Chinese literature, and a translation of one of them possesses merely an interest of curiosity, it has but little value for historical or critical purposes. The present work is divided into five books. The first of these gives the well-known story from the birth to the "great renunciation" (*mahābhinishkramaṇa*). The second relates the grief of Buddha's family and friends at his disappearance, and their fruitless efforts to induce him to return. The third carries on the story to the attainment of Buddhahood and the turning of the "Wheel of the Law," while the other two very briefly summarize the uneventful remainder of his life down to his death and the distribution of his relics. The incidents and discourses are throughout the same as those already known to us from Indian sources, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the work of Aśwaghosha was based on the *Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra* with which he, the religious adviser of King Kanishka, the great Scythian king of Northern India in the first century A.D. was probably familiar. Though he was a follower of the *Mahāyāna* school there is little or no trace of the peculiar doctrines of that school in his work, which indeed hardly goes far enough into detail to give occasion for the display of sectarian peculiarities.



The translation is flowing and spirited, and there is an interesting introduction giving an account of the extant versions of the life of Buddha in Chinese. The notes at the end of the volume are also valuable.

The first part of the translation of hymns from the Rig-veda, the second part of which by an oversight was reviewed first,\* contains chiefly hymns to the Maruts or Storm-gods of the ancient Aryans. It is difficult to review such a work for two reasons. In the first place the learned editor not only admits that a final translation of the Rig-veda is impossible at present, but even doubts whether it will ever be possible. All he aspires to do is to translate what he can and thus “reduce the untranslatable portion to narrower and narrower limits.” It is in fullest accord with this aspect of the question, that by far the greater part of this bulky volume of more than five hundred pages is occupied by dissertations on the meaning of doubtful words, and by controversy with other scholars as to the exact purport of particular Sanskrit words and phrases. The divergences of opinion are often startling, and it is obvious that in these controversies, the ordinary cultured European reader ignorant of Sanskrit, for whose benefit the series of “Sacred books” professes to be produced, can take no interest at all. Like the arguments of a celebrated lawyer they too often only “make that darker which was dark enough without.” It is unnecessary to repeat what I have already written on this subject in my review of the second part of these hymns, the remarks I have made apply with even greater force to this volume. The Journal of the German Oriental Society, or some other learned periodical, and not (emphatically *not*) the “Sacred Books” series is the proper place for abstruse discussions on knotty points of Sanskrit scholarship.

Secondly, forgetting apparently the avowedly popular character of this series the eminent professor is careful to warn off from the work the very persons for whose benefit it was presumably intended. In a remarkable passage (Introduction, p. xxiii) he avows his deliberate desire to “prove attractive to serious students only, and frighten away the casual reader who has done so much harm by meddling with Vedic Antiquities.” Whilst recognising in the fullest degree the great benefit which the learned editor has conferred on the Western world by rendering accessible so many of the ancient scriptures of the mysterious East one may perhaps be permitted respectfully to ask a question of some practical importance. If by “serious students” are meant only those few scholars who devote themselves to the study of Vedic Sanskrit, and if the term excludes the missionary, the rulers and administrators of India, and those cultured and intellectual Europeans who wish to study the religions of India past and present with a view to the fuller comprehension and appreciation of the native mind, are the purchasers of this costly volume likely to be numerous enough to compensate the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for the outlay involved in its production? Would any ordinary publisher influenced only by commercial considerations undertake to bring out such a work? Conducted on these

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October 1897.

exclusive principles is the “Sacred books” series likely to be generally useful or financially remunerative?

If the casual reader is a person to be despised, the serious reader is not. The study of Sanskrit—even classical Sanskrit—is not yet so general that ignorance of it is a thing which anyone need be ashamed of. It is, to say the least of it, unfortunate that no effort should be made in this volume to enlighten the serious reader. Of course, under these circumstances any analysis of the contents of this volume would be out of place. It would only benefit the “casual reader,” who is not intended to be benefited. “Procul o procul este profani!” Perhaps however the casual reader, without being thought to intrude, may take a sample of the work at hazard, just a hasty peep as it were into the shrine, while the serious student’s back is turned. Hymn 166 on p. 209 for instance, contains 15 short verses, —two pages of big print. The notes extend to sixty pages! They include a long and profoundly learned treatise on Aditi, an ancient god or goddess; and the drawback to them is that they generally tend to throw doubt on the accuracy of the translation adopted in the text by offering various alternative renderings, and by showing that other learned translators have understood the passage in a different way. Thus verse 6 runs: “You, O terrible Maruts, whose ranks are never broken, *favourably* fulfil our *prayer!* whenever your *gory-toothed* lightning *bites*, it *crunches* cattle like a well-aimed *bolt*.” All the words here underlined are the subject of notes. The word translated “prayer” may also, as is shown by quotations, mean “favour,” “desire,” “blessing,” “gift.” In more recent Sanskrit it means “good thought,” “right judgment,” “kindness,” “friendship.” “Gory-toothed” is avowedly a difficult word even to ancient Indian commentators. Some take it to mean a “wild boar.” The rendering in the text is a conjecture, which may or may not be right. “Bites” is the translation of a word which does not mean “bite” in any other passage in the Rig-veda. It means “cut,” “divide,” “give,” “cut open or prepare a road.” The word rendered “crunches” is also somewhat uncertain, and that rendered “bolt” may also be explained in a variety of ways, the rendering in the text is conjectural only.

Perhaps this specimen will satisfy the “casual reader” that he is not wanted here. The reviewer also fearing that he himself may be classed as a “casual reader” discreetly retires.

For facility of reference we publish at the end of some of our quarterly reviews of one or more of "The Sacred Books of the East" Series, a complete list of them, brought up to date, which we hope our readers and Oriental scholars generally will consider to be a useful addition. The Series now stands as follows (1st January, 1898):

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## SHAN AND SIAM.

BY CAPT. G. E. GERINI.

I HAVE perused with great interest Mr. E. H. Parker's article on Siam printed in last July's (1897) number of the *Review*. Mr. Parker is so well known as an authority on Chinese philology and ethnography, that anything he has to say on these subjects commands respect. To him almost exclusively belongs the merit of having, during late years, called attention to the early seats of the Thai race in Yunnan and elucidated many points of its primordial history by extracts and translations from Chinese records. When dealing with such matters, however intricate, Mr. Parker is so thoroughly at home as to give scarcely any chance to the captious critic of exercising his ingenuity. But it is when he crosses the southern boundary of Chinese speaking populations and discusses the problem of racial development and the history of national growth of the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, one of his favourite topics, that his *Achillis tendo* begins to show up; for he is then treading upon ground almost entirely unexplored and full of pitfalls.

It may be said in his favour, however, that no subject is perhaps more arduous than this, for early local records are almost entirely absent, while labourers in the field are far and few; so that in spite of the researches of a handful of willing and learned pioneers, our knowledge about the past of these interesting nations, has, so far, made very little progress. The reliable written records, except in Annam, scarcely go further back than the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, while the information to be derived as to an earlier period from the few epigraphic monuments hitherto discovered is very scanty indeed. For the first twelve or thirteen centuries of the Christian Era we are thus left almost entirely to conjecture. Chinese historical works and cyclopedias offer, it is true, a mine of precious materials, but in such a rough and promiscuous state as to be only in part available. The chronicles of Annam and of other Indo-Chinese states are generally concise and reticent as to the events of that early period; and in many an instance legend and fiction take the place of historical facts. Dealing with the primordial life of Indo-Chinese nations becomes thus an exceedingly difficult task fraught with dangers on every side. The enquirer has to proceed in the darkness by tentative *tâtonnements*, guided more by his instinct than by any peculiar landmarks, while failure lurks in every one of his footsteps. So he has to be cautious, and interrupt at every moment his staggering progress. The only viaticum that is likely to ensure some meed of success in such hazardous undertakings is a thorough knowledge of the manifold languages spoken by the races and tribes of the region under examination, but this alone takes years of time and labour; hence the scarcity of the workers in this field.

Myself the humblest, and nevertheless, for upwards of sixteen years, one of the steadiest—*à temps perdu*—of these workers, always ready to hail with enthusiasm any successful step in the right direction, and to sym-

pathize with scholarly efforts that failed, as well as with the Icarian tumbles of amateur ethnologists and globetrotters which more rightly afford matter for hilarity, I do not in the least presume to pose as an authority on such difficult matters, neither am I bent on entering here into unprofitable controversies. My object is merely to rectify and clear up a few points of Mr. Parker's paper where he has unfortunately slipped into error; and, above all, to confute his view as to the origin of the name of Siām, which I find entirely in contrast with the result of my researches. I shall start with the last subject as being of paramount importance, leaving the minor items to a passing notice in the sequel.

From this and preceding articles published on the subject by Mr. Parker in the course of the last few years, it appears that he has made himself the champion of the novel theory of the derivation of the name of Siām from the term *Shan*. I have noticed it expounded in several of the previous articles alluded to, but I kept my peace in the hope that some competent scholar, and if not, that time and research would point out to him its untenability. Seeing, however, from Mr. Parker's recent contribution to the Review that he still holds on to his point as tenaciously as ever, and doubting from past experience whether anyone will come forward to challenge it, I have resolved to take up the cudgels myself in order to remove, if possible, the misleading impression that such a theory may leave upon the minds of the non-adepts in this kind of topic. Since the ground taken up is false, the sooner its weakness is exposed, the better; hence I hasten to do it in as few words as possible, for pressure of other work prevents me from giving the subject the thorough and extensive treatment it deserves. I, therefore, limit myself here to the mere facts of the case, and these are as follows.

The epigraphic evidence to be obtained so far as to the antiquity of the name of Siām is unfortunately very small; nevertheless it is worth relating. The first references are perhaps contained in the inscriptions engraved in explanation of two bassorilievi in the South-Western gallery of Angkor Vat in Kamboja. The scenes depicted are the war pageants of two princes or chiefs, evidently from Siām, for the inscriptions—numbered 27th and 28th respectively in Aymonier's list\*—call them, or their followers, in the one case *Syām Kut*, and in the other *Syām Kak*. The characters of these inscriptions are supposed to belong to the end of the eleventh century or to the beginning of the next one, but may very likely be much older.

Then we have in the inscription numbered 409 B. 2, engraved on one of the pillars of the temple of Pô Nagar, in Campā,† the mention of slaves of "*Pukam Syam*," etc., being offered to serve in the temple of the goddess by King Jaya Parames'vara-varma Deva, who reigned between A.D. 1000 and 1050 *circa*.‡ Aymonier failed to see that the name *Pukam* means *Pukām* or *Bukām*, now called Pagan, the capital of an ancient state in

\* *Les inscriptions en vieux Khmer*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, August-Sept., 1883.

† See Aymonier's *Les inscriptions Tchames*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb., 1891, p. 29.

‡ See Bergaigne's *L'ancien Royaume de Campā*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Jan., 1888, pp. 36 and 79.

Burma, situated on the left bank of the Irāvati a little above the 21st parallel of latitude. The state and its people were also called *Pugām* or *Bukām* after their capital, and they appear as such in most chronicles of Indo-China. I insist especially on this point, as in the second line of the same inscription Bergaigne reads the word *Sudharma*,\* which may apply to Sudharma or Saddhammavagāra, the name of the ancient capital of Pegu now called *Sathōm*, or Thatōn. The fact of *Pukam*, *Syam*, *Kvir* (Khmer, or, perhaps, *Kvoi* ?), etc., slaves being offered to the temple, coupled with a possible reference to Sudharma or Thatōn, would seem to indicate that the Campā king had made some successful expedition against Pegu and Burmā, through Kamboja and Siām, in the course of which he procured as prisoners of war the slaves of the several nationalities mentioned above. This conjecture is further strengthened by the coincidence that the epithet *Vijaya* (victorious) follows in the inscription immediately after the king's name. Now, we are apprised by the chronicles of Burmā that, between circa A.D. 1010 and 1060 there reigned in Pukām a celebrated king by the name of Anōradhā or Anuruddha, who conquered most of the neighbouring countries, including Thatōn or Pegu, and part of the Shan states in Upper Burma. His conquest of Thatōn took place, according to the Kalyānī inscriptions of Pegu, in the year 1601 of the Buddhist and 419 of the Culla Śaka, Era, corresponding to A.D. 1057. It is with Anuruddha that the rise of the Burmese as a nation dates. Prior to that we hear only of populations of Mōn-Annam race occupying and swaying the countries now known as Burmā, Pegu and Arakan. Burmese tribes may have settled in these countries early before the time of Anuruddha, but their influence was apparently of not much account, and they were a rude and uncivilized lot, unacquainted even with writing, which they learnt and introduced afterwards from Pegu upon their becoming masters of that remarkably civilized state. It is evident, therefore, that if the name of *Shan* for peoples of the Thai race originated among the Burmese, it must have come into use not earlier than about A.D. 1050, the approximate date of Anuruddha's conquest of the Shan states; for, before that period, the Burmese were practically, or at least politically, non-existent. Now, if we turn to the Cām inscription referred to above, we see that the presumed inroads of the victorious Cām king by which he procured slaves from Kamboja, Siām, Pegu and Pukām, must have occurred some short time before Anuruddha ascended the throne or commenced his career of a successful conqueror; that is, during the first or the second decade of the eleventh century. The first years of that century are the most probable date, as after that there arose in Kamboja a famous ruler by the name of Sūrya-varman who was—according to the Khmer inscriptions—a thunderbolt of war himself, and would hardly permit to his royal cousin of Campā to trespass upon his boundaries in order to proceed to Siām and Pegu. There is, on the other hand, the possibility that the Cām expeditions which the inscription gives us reason to regard as having occurred by land, took place instead by sea. Be it as it may, we have here a proof that the term

\* See Bergaigne's *L'ancien Royaume de Campā*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Jan. 1888,

*Siām* existed in its present form and was well known as the name of a people and country from at least the beginning of the eleventh century ; that is, from a time when the Burmese, its supposed inventors, were probably as unknown in Indo-China as the Red-skins in ancient Greece or Rome.

So far the evidence afforded us by the inscriptions. It is not much indeed, as with any other subject of importance to the ethnologist or the historian regarding which these monuments are laid under contribution ; though it is already something in favour of the antiquity of the form *Syām* in comparison with its pretended prototype *Shan*.

But I have yet another argument which is decisive on the point and throws the name of Siām right back into the very first century of our era. This argument was the outcome of my researches on the ancient geography of Indo-China which resulted in the identification of most places named by Ptolemy in the India Extra-Gangem, and enabled me to show that the city or district of *Samaradē*, located by the eminent Alexandrine geographer on the shores of the Gulf of Siām, is nothing more nor less than *Sāma-raṭṭhē* or *Syāmārāstra*, i.e., Siām proper.\* This identification is absolutely certain and no possible muddling and shuffling of Ptolemy's data can shake it. I found the very same form *Sāma-raṭṭhē* referred to above, in ancient Pāli and Lāu palm-leaf books composed and written in Northern Siām ; but as we have no certain knowledge as to their date, we cannot take them as unimpeachable evidence of the antiquity of that form of the name of Siām. Ptolemy's reference to it is, however, sufficient to testify as to its existence as early at least as the beginning of the first century ; that is, fully nine hundred years before the Burmese gave sign of life.

After Ptolemy come the Chinese annalists who speak of the states of *Hsien* (or *Siem*) and *Lo-huh* (or *Lo-huk*) as existing from the seventh century ; but I shall for the moment refrain from discoursing of these two kingdoms as I shall have occasion, later on, to revert to them in order to establish their identity. I omit, likewise, other arguments of minor importance which might be adduced to show the continuity of existence of the term Siām throughout almost each successive century that elapsed between Ptolemy's time and the date of the Khmer and Cām inscriptions quoted at the outset of this enquiry. It will be sufficient to know, for the present, that the name of Siām can be traced back for certain to the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century of the Christian era. Such, so far as I can make out, is the evidence that we can derive from ancient records.

It remains now to see what philology can teach us in respect of the priority, of one over the other, of the two terms *Shan* and *Siām*. In the first place, let us examine the structure of the Burmese word *Shan* from which the name for Siām and its people is alleged to have been derived.

That word is, in Burmese, generally written in two ways, i.e. သျှမ်း (*Hsyāma* or *Hsyam*, pronounced *Shyam* or *Shyan*) and ရှမ်း (*Hrama* or

\* See my demonstration of this point in last July's and forthcoming numbers of the *Journal, R. Asiatic Society*.

*Hram*, pronounced *Sham* or *Shan*)\*. No more faithful transliteration could be given in Burmese characters of the Sanskrit term *Syāma*; and, as it is on the written spelling and not on the pronunciation, that we must rely in all Indo-Chinese languages in which letters often undergo phonetic alterations in being pronounced, this is in itself, more than sufficient evidence to explode the peregrine theory of the derivation of Siām from Shan. For, mark,—there is here no question of a final *anusvāra*, but of a final *m* and *visarga*, which latter is silenced by a *virāma* symbol. It is worthy of note, moreover, that the palatal sibilant *ś* is expressed by ဟ (hs) or ရှ (sh) as it ought to be. If *Shan* was the correct spelling, this would be expressed by *anusvāra* or by final *n* following after the *hs* or *sh*, as in ရှိ or ဟှိ; and ရှိန် or ဟှိန်. I defy anyone to find me a *bona fide* instance in Burmese literature in which *Shan* as the name of a country and people is written differently from *Hsyam* or *Sham*. Nor is this all. If this geographical or ethnic name *Shan* really existed in this form, it would be undoubtedly known to neighbouring populations. But nothing of the sort occurs; neither the so-called Shans themselves nor any of their neighbours know anything about it. And further, none of the Indo-Chinese nations, the Burmese in their spoken language excepted, write or pronounce the name with a final *n* as in *Shan*; but always with an *m*. Thus the Mōn or Taleng write and pronounce မောင် (Sēm) or မို (Sem); the Asamese and Kachin say *Sam*; the Malays *Siām*; the Khmers *Siem*; the Cām *Syam*. Even the Siamo-Malays in the Malay Peninsula are called *Sam-sam*. The Chinese, it is true, write *Hsien*; but this character is pronounced *Siam* in Hakka, *tsim* in Cantonese and *Hsiem* in Annamese, which sounds represent the Khmer form *Siem* still met with in some names of districts on the Kambojan borders, such as *Siem-rāb*, now *Siem-rāṭ* (*Syāma-rāṭra*). In Chinese the character 暹 (*Hsien*) means “sun-rise,” and corresponds thus in sense to the Sanskrit-Pāli *Udaya*, which occurs in the compound Sukhodaya (*Sukha + udaya* = “the dawn of prosperity”) the name of Sukhothai, the former capital of Northern Siām, and, at times, of the whole of the country. It seems therefore to me that the Chinese, in adopting that character, had the double object in view of representing phonetically the name of Siām, and of conveying part of the meaning expressed in the name of her capital, Sukhothai.

I regret that I cannot develop this subject further within the narrow compass of this paper; but I hope to have sufficiently demonstrated that the term *Syāma*—or as I write it for simplicity's sake, *Siām*—as the name of a country and people, existed for ages before the Burmese phonetic abortion *Shan* or *Shyam*, which is but an imitation of it. The theory of the derivation of *Siām* from *Shan*, being diametrically opposed to all argument furnished us by philology and historical records of all kinds, becomes thus untenable and must fall to the ground and there remain buried until it can be proved that the Burmese existed as a nation in their

\* See Judson's *Burmese-English Dictionary*, pp. 647 and 530, respectively.



present seats and ruled all over Indo-China for ages before Ptolemy's time. This I think a rather hard task, especially after I shall have proved, as I hope to do in a short time hence, that the famous *Pyū* (read *Pru*) and *Kānrān* and *Sak* out of whom the Burmese nation has been hitherto held to have sprung, are nothing else but populations of the great Mōñ-Annam race, still represented up to this day by the *Por* or *Poru*, the *So* or *Suk*, and the *Khā Kāu* of the Mē-Khōng valley, who have nothing to do with the Tibeto-Burmese of the present Burmā. But I hope to get further and show that a connection exists between the *Khami*—also reputed to be of the Tibetan stock—with the *Khamu* of the Upper Mē-Khōng at Lúang P'hra-Bāng and the *Khamē* (commonly called Khmers) of Kamboja. It will then result that the whole of the present Burmā Pegu and Arakan were, up to quite modern times, occupied almost exclusively by populations of Mōñ-Annam race, and that the early so-called Burmese kingdoms, up to the time of Anuruddha and even further, were formed out of people of that race, the *Pyū* (Pru) etc., whom the actual Burmese regard as their ancestors! This explains the fact of the *Pyū* being still found, according to Chinese writers who call them *Puh* or *Piao*, as late as A.D. 796 at Momien.\*

The present Burmese would then result to be a quite modern nation, almost the very latest settlers—of Tibetan extraction—in Burma, of whom the present *Mro* represent the most modern branch; whence their name of *Mro-mā* or *Mram-mā*, corrupted afterwards into *Brammā* and Burmā. Thus do ancient theories pass away, exploded in the light of modern research; and the antiquity of the Burmese as a nation, as well as their descent chiefly from the *Pyū* and *Sak*, becomes a myth. Vice-versa, the latter named tribes of whom only a few years ago Capt. Forbes, firmly convinced of their non-existence but in fable, could say that they “are now as unknown in Burma as the Trinobantes are in Middlesex,”† assume concrete body and form and prove to be alive still, if not on the banks of the *Irāvati* and *Salvīn*, at least on those of their next great fluvial neighbour on the east, the Mē-Khōng.

In Siām the case is not dissimilar. Here we have a country known from at least eighteen centuries by the Sanskrit name of *Syāma*, and inhabited from prehistorical times by tribes of the same Mōñ-Annam race as settled in Pegu, Burma and Kamboja, in fact, all over the Indo-Chinese Peninsula; a country which, like her neighbours, received its civilization from India and was at a subsequent period invaded by populations of a different stock who gradually substituted themselves—though not entirely—for the original settlers. I say “not entirely” because patches still peopled by the original inhabitants appear in the mountainous recesses of the land. The essential difference between the earlier and the later settler is that, while the former were a hill-people, the latter are a valley-dwelling population par excellence, hence their inherited preference for the low lands and the banks of streams and lakes, which may be ascribed to atavism and goes a good deal towards explaining their constant pushing

\* See Parker's notes in Notes and Queries, *China Review*, vol. xx., p. 393; Anno 1893.

† *Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India*, p. 55.

towards the plains that are found in the southern part of Indo-China. Elsewhere I have explained how this characteristic procured them within Chinese borders the name of *Pa-i*, and in the parts of Indo-China subject to Indian influence and civilization the Sanskrit epithet of *Dronaka*, still subsisting under the forms *Doan*, *Doania*, etc., and rendered by Ptolemy as *Doanai*. But their racial name was *Lāu* or *Āi-Lāu*, for which they soon substituted the title—and not name—of *Thai*. *Lāu* was once in their language, as I found out, a pronoun of the first person; or, more probably, their original word for “man” or “person”; as proper personal pronouns did not exist at the outset in Indo-Chinese languages, and all words used to that effect were in essence nothing but expressions of the meanings: “this man,” “that man,” etc. which were replaced afterwards, with the setting in of more refined manners, by more courteous and even servile forms of speech, such as: “this servant,” or slave, “that servant,” etc. Thus in *Khami*, *Khamu* and *Khamē* (Khmer) these tribal names mean nothing but “man” or “person,” and were originally made to do duty for the personal pronoun “I.” *Lū*, *Lī*, *Lōi*, etc., now still met with as names of branches of the Thai race, are as many other forms of the original personal pronoun and designation for “man,” *Lāu*.\* The term *Āi* prefixed to the latter in the compound *Āi-Lāu*, is the Thai word for “male,” as *ī* is the one used for “female”; both are employed also as masculine and feminine articles and even instead of the pronouns “he,” “her”; whence *Āi-Lāu* may mean the “Male *Lāu*,” as well as “The *Lāu* (men or people).” Of course the two pronouns *āi* and *ī* have now become vested with a contemptuous character in the modern parlance, and were thus discarded from polite speech; being only applied to low and despicable persons. Such is the fate of many other words which were formerly in common use and bore no disparaging meaning; the term *Lāu* itself, for instance, is now disliked to a degree by the people of C’hieng-māi and Lúang P’hra-Bāng, when applied to them by their elder relatives and suzerains, the present Siamese.

Having thus explained the ancient name of the race, *Lāu* or *Āi Lāu*, I am now bound to add a word as to how they came to adopt afterwards their epithet of *Thai*, held to mean “free,” which forms now the sole accepted name for many of their branches, especially the northern ones. I do this at the risk of appearing lengthy, in view of the fact that the origin of this term is so far unknown and its application misunderstood and even denied as a Thai word; the Rev. Cushing going so far as to say, in the introduction to his Grammar of the so-called *Shan* Language:† “Many inquiries made in different parts of the Shan country which I have visited have failed to obtain any evidence that the same meaning [of “free”] is attached to the name [*Tai* or *Thai*] by the Shans as by the Siamese; neither have I been able to elicit any satisfactory explanation of the word from the Shans. It may be that the Siamese changed the form of the name by adopting the aspirated *t* so as to have it to embody a meaning com-

\* 你 pronounced *lū* or *lī* in Hainan, is still a pronoun there for the second person, meaning *thou* or *you*.

† Rangoon, American Mission Press, 1871.

memorative of some great event in their history. As the unaspirated form of the name is employed by all the divisions of the Tai family except the Siamese, it is natural to suppose *that* to be the original form until some positive evidence to the contrary can be adduced."

Over two and a half decades have now elapsed since the above was written, and no new information or evidence having come forth, the question remains at the point it was. Meanwhile, globe-trotters and amateur-ethnologists continue to quote Cushing and, after him, Pallegoix, and Sir John Bowring, and Crawford and La Loubère; and would go even down to antediluvian authorities if there were any such on Siām, rather than study to find out some new facts for themselves on this matter; for it must be avowed, the authorities just named were eminent and diligent scholars, but it should not be forgotten that they were also pioneers writing at a time when all about this country was pitch dark, and research next to impossible through difficulty of travelling and of procuring ethnological material. Now that there are much ampler facilities for this, willing and *bona fide* labourers should give up the habit of dry-nursing themselves exclusively with the stuff accumulated by the early pioneer labourers in this field, and of continuing to dish it up in stereotyped form, *usque ad nauseam* in their new publications, *new* in reality only in the paper upon which they are printed. The work accomplished by those early labourers, was good enough in their time, but it can scarcely satisfy the exigencies of modern research and criticism, though many a thing said by them still holds good and now and then recent research proves the old men to be right in some of the opinions or theories that they advanced. Such, for instance, is the case in respect of the name of Siām, which Pallegoix and others held to have been derived from the Sanskrit *Syāma*, a mere conjecture which is now found confirmed by the arguments adduced above. As regards the name *Thai*, Pallegoix was not wrong in rendering it "free," which, I shall show directly, is only one of its meanings or, rather, of its indirect or inferred, interpretations. But he could give no clue as to its etymology, neither could Cushing who holds a brief for the unaspirated, in preference to the aspirated, form of the word. Just to give an idea as to the meagre standard attained as yet by the philological study of the Thai branch of languages in Cushing's time, I may quote the following from the introduction to his Shan and English Dictionary:\* "The Chinese. Few words in use among the central and southern Shan principalities are derived from this language." Now, the fact is that, in the course of a comparison of the languages and dialects spoken by several branches of the Thai race,—variously styled: Siamese, Lāu, both white and black bellied; Shan, etc.—with the languages and dialects spoken in the provinces of China lying to the south of the Yangtsá river, I found that nearly the whole body of the Thai language proper can be retraced there; a circumstance which when made better known and patent by the vocabularies I am now preparing, will necessitate the breaking up of the arrangement by which this language is now held to form a separate family, and the classing of it as a group or branch of the *Sinitic* or Southern Sinitic, family of speech, thus fulfilling

\* Rangoon, American Mission Press, 1881, p. 15.

Capt. Forbes' prognostication of nearly twenty years ago.\* *Thai*, in its aspirated and correct form, is but one of the many thousand words of Sinitic origin that still constitute so great a portion of the Siāinese and allied languages; and is identical in meaning and pronunciation with the Chinese 太 or, I should say rather, 泰 usually transliterated *t'ai* by Sinologists. The meaning of both these Chinese characters—which are but a derivation the one of the other, is “great, eminent, exalted”; and both are used as terms of respect and as prefaces in titles, just like the term *Mahā* is in Indian languages. Why should the ancient Lāu call themselves “great, eminent, exalted”? The reason is not far to seek, neither are parallels wanting among eastern nations. Did not the victorious invaders of India from the Pamirian plateau call themselves *Ārya*, i.e., the “noble” or “excellent”? The Lāu and their relatives, had plenty of arguments for holding themselves great. Not only did they found in South-western Yünnan that powerful confederation of Chāu or principalities that held Chinese imperial armies in check for so many centuries and even eventually threatened the throne of the “Son of Heaven”; but advancing into Northern Siām on one side, and into Northern Burma on the other, they shook to their foundations the two mightiest Indo-Chinese kingdoms of the time: Pegu and Kamboja, whom they reduced to mere shadows; and, not content with extending their sway over almost the whole of Indo-China, pushed on their conquests even unto the Indian borders and made themselves masters of Asam, which owes to them its present name. In fact, the branch of the Lāu that conquered the latter named country, changed their title of “great” or “excellent” (*Thai*) for its Sanskrit synonym *Asama* = “peerless, unequalled”; and are still now known by that name, corrupted by them into *Ahom*. Other branches in that neighbourhood preferred to style themselves *Kham-dī*, “good-gold,” meaning, possibly, refined gold; wrongly spelled Khamti. Others, yet, especially the elder or major branch established in the upper valleys of the Irāvaṭī, Sahvin and Mē-Không, not content with the simple epithet of *Thai*, added to it other synonyms, such as *Lhâng* = major, and *Yāi* = great, becoming thus known as *Thai-lhâng* and *Thai-yāi*, the “most-eminent” or “greatly eminent”; but, as by that time the term *thai* had already become a proper name for the race, we might translate those two compound terms as “Major *Thai*” and “Great *Thai*.” The term *Thai-lhâng*, often corruptly written *Tai-lung*, *Tairong*, etc., is nothing else than the Chinese digram 泰隆 read in Cantonese and Annamese *thai-lung* or *thai-long*; where *lung*,—like its Siāinese derivate *luang*—means “eminent, glorious, surpassing.” *Yāi*, pronounced *ñai* (i.e. *nyai*) by the so-called Shan or Western Lāu, is probably the Chinese 堯 (*yau*) or some akin ideograph, which in some dialects and in Annamese is pronounced *ngiêu*; whence, I think, the surname *Ngieu* given to the *Thai-yāi*, though this latter is also explained as meaning *Ngũ*, i.e. snake. Ma-tuan-lin does in fact tell us of the Nān-Chāu branch of the Āi-Lāu that they were also named *Lung-wei* or “dragon-tails”; but such nick-names are generally corruptions of local terms designedly contrived by alien races to suit their special purpose of turning into contempt or ridicule the natives;

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

such for instance is the name of the *Khami* of Arakan, maliciously transformed into *Khwē-myī* (dog-tails) by the Burmese. Hence, I think that the name of the *Ngieu* is but a synonym or form of the term *yāi* or *ñai* = great.

It will be seen from the examples given above that the tendency of the Lāu and their relatives to magnify themselves by titles meaning great, eminent, unequalled, etc., is general in all the branches of the race, though not peculiar to them alone, for we find numerous instances of the same idiosyncrasy in China as well as in India and elsewhere in the East. But in Indo-China we may take it for granted that it is a distinguishing characteristic of the Thai race. It will also be evident, from the etymology we gave of the term *Thai*, that the correct spelling of this word is *Thai* or *T'ai* in the aspirated form retained up to this day by the Siāinese; and not *Tai* as modified by a section of the so-called Shans.\* The Lāu of C'hieng-māi and Lúang P'hra-Bāng, however, write and pronounce it with the aspirated *z*, i.e. *th* or *ṭ*. This letter corresponding to the *d* of Sanskrit and Pāli terms in Siāinese transliteration and pronunciation, the term *Thai* was given a classic air by the addition of a final *y*, and was henceforth written *ṭhy* instead of *ṭh* as formerly, in order to make it look like a transliteration of the Pāli or Sanskrit *daya*, and a corruption of *jaya*, *jayin*, etc. meaning victory or victorious. In some Pāli MSS. of works compiled in Siām and Lāu I found the name of the Thai often under the forms *Daya* and *Deyya*. So strong is the belief in a classic derivation of the term *Thai* among some Siāinese, that I found in several texts the term Sukhothai (i.e. Sukhodaya or Sukhadaya) the name of the ancient Siāinese capital, explained as *Thai pen sukh*, i.e. "The Happy Thai." I can hardly believe that when this new name was given that city—originally known as Hari-puñja or Haripuñjaya—the above consideration had anything to do with the choice of its appellation. At any rate, the meaning of the word *Thai* is well known both in Siām and Lāu; for it is used still, especially among the Lāu, to denote a noble, an excellent person, free from bondage or passion, exactly as the term *Ariya* is employed in the Buddhist Scriptures. In this sense it may be said that it means "free"; but not quite exactly as this word is commonly understood in non-Buddhist countries. In fact, among the Lāu, the venerable *theras* of the Church are, up to this day, termed *Chāu Thai*, i.e. Noble Lords. I met with this expression in most of the Lāu MSS. that passed through my hands, and I know that it is still used in common parlance all over the Lāu country; hence I feel rather surprised at the Rev. Cushing having missed it. No wonder that he found it impossible to account for the meaning "free" ascribed to it by Pallegoix, who evidently obtained it from some learned Siāinese and did not trouble himself with, or had not the means of, tracing it back to its original application.

With this I hope to have plainly demonstrated that the term *Thai* is a

\* The *Thai* of Burma and other branches of the same race, have a tendency to change many aspirated into unaspirated consonants.

mere epithet, or title, of Chinese derivation like most words of the *Thai* language proper; adopted by the branches of the ancient Lāu race that settled in the northern parts of Siām and Burma, to distinguish and exalt themselves after a successful career of conquest in those countries. After they made themselves masters of the whole of Siām and founded there an empire which gradually extended far into Pegu and Upper Burma, they became, of course, known to the neighbouring nations by the name of *Syāma*, i.e. Siāinese; and it is from that time only that the origin and use of the Burmese term *Shan* can be said to date. It would, of course, be an error to hold that the old Siāinese, i.e. the early occupants of Siām, were people of the Thai race, for we have shown that the country was under the sway of a Mōñ-Annam population; but the modern term *Shan*, as employed by the Burmese means evidently nothing else but the *Syāma*, i.e. the Siāinese, or people of the Thai race that in later times settled and ruled Siām and do so still at present. It is therefore merely an obvious truism, and no novel discovery whatever, to assert that the present Siāinese and Shans are identical, since *Shan* means Siāinese and nothing else; but it would be more logical and *less tautological* to say instead: Modern Siāinese and Thai; or, Shan and Thai. In conclusion, I may express a hope—though by no means sanguine in expecting that it will be fulfilled,—that the term *Shan*,—as a most incorrect and misleading expression, unearthed by a few Anglo-Burman pioneers from one of the most phonetically-unreliable languages, in order to meet the exigencies of the moment,—be once for all discarded by scholars; and that the more correct terms Siāinese, Thai, Lāu, etc. be adopted henceforward to designate the various branches of the Thai race. The Burmese and Siāinese Shan States may just as well be termed the Burmese Thai (or Lāu) and the Siāinese Lāu States, without history, geography and the allied sciences having to suffer from this innovation. But the use of the term *Shan* is already so deeply rooted among European scholars, especially among British officials in the Burmese service, that I hardly think this hint will be heeded. Anyhow, I have now done with the most important point which I was anxious to clear up in these pages; I shall now proceed to deal with a few items of minor importance in Mr. Parker's paper in the same order as they occur to the reader.

At page 113 it is said of the Nan-Chao confederation that its territory "was bordered on the west by the Hindu kingdom of Magadha." I do not know what is the combination of characters, occurring in the Chinese history of the Nan-Chao quoted by Mr. Parker, which he transliterates as Magadha; but I observe that Ma-tuam-lin has *Chieh-t'o*, and the great Chinese cyclopedia quoted by Hervey de St. Denis in his translation, p. 231, *Chieh-t'o*, which is certainly not Magadha, as it is, by some authorities, held to be the same as *Chu-p'o* of the kingdom of *P'iao-kuo* (Pegu or Pago). Now, I have demonstrated elsewhere that *Chu-p'o*, *Shu-p'o*, *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*, as it is variously spelled and pronounced, corresponds to the present Upper Burma and very likely extended to the Kubo valley. It is, I believe, the *Thafec* of the Arabs and the *Davāka* one of the five frontier countries of Samudra Gupta's realm, in circa

A.D. 345-380, hitherto unidentified) of the Indian inscriptions. *Ch'ieh-t'o*, or *Kia-t'o*, may then correspond to *Kartripura* (another of the unidentified frontier countries mentioned together with the above); or to *Chattala*, a district said to have once formed part of the state of Tripura, which must have occupied the interval between the Kubo valley and Tipperah, extending to the sea coast of Chittagong as well. Very likely it was by the Chinese often confounded and assumed to be one with the neighbouring *Davāka* or Upper Burma. The most logical construction that can be put upon the Chinese text seems then, that the Nan-Chao confederation was coterminous on the west with Upper Burma or *Davāka*. That's all.

At page 113 I find it further stated that "the Pra-ke'o inscription of Bangkok is Siamese, written in Sanskrit character." This is a mistake; the characters are not any form of the Devanāgarī, but a mere ancient type of Siamese writing of the 13th century, sometime before introduced, as I found out, from the Malay Archipelago.

At page 115 we are told that "it was only after Kublai Khan's death in 1294, that the name *Siem* (or Siam as it is still pronounced in one Chinese dialect) appeared in Chinese history." This may be very well; but what about the states of *Hsien* and *Lo-huh* mentioned in Chinese cyclopedias as being known since the T'ang period, i.e. some six centuries previous to that? I suppose Mr. Parker does not mean to infer that the name of Siām was not known to the Chinese and did not appear in their literature until 1294, which would seem little likely. Yet, in the same page, he appears intent to convey the impression that the "two conflicting states of *Siam* and *Lohuk*" did not become known to the Chinese until A.D. 1368. After stating that Lohuk conquered Siām, he feels inclined to identify the former with Marco Polo's *Lochac*; and then he calls attention (p. 116) to two other countries by the name of *Loviet* and *Tanneiliu*, both referred to in Chinese accounts.

According to Chinese authors, the region of *Hsien* or *Siem* was sterile and unsuitable for cultivation, while that of *Lo-huh* or *Lo-huk* was flat and marshy, and yielded all sorts of agricultural produce. Both these countries have been long ago satisfactorily identified by me: *Lo-huh* or *Lo-huk* with *Lohavara* or *Lavapuri*—the present Lophburi—then called *Lahor* or *Lahôt*; and *Hsien* with the western and northern part of Siām. With this explanation the Chinese statement that *Lohuk* conquered *Hsien* will be found in accordance with historical tradition; while if we assume *Lohuk* to be Marco Polo's *Lochac* and this to be *Lawëk* which, by the way did not become the seat of Kambojan kings until the second part of the 14th century, we obtain a result diametrically opposed to historical truth which is that Siām then conquered Kamboja, and not Kamboja Siām.

I may add moreover that, in my opinion, Marco Polo's *Lochac* or *Locat* is not *Lawëk* at all, but Ligor, referred to by the Chinese under the names of *Lu-kia*. Another state alluded to by them under the name of 羅越 (*Lo-yüsh*) as being situated at the southern end of the Malay

\* See *Tung-si-yang-k'ao*, etc., quoted by De Rosny in his *Peuples Orientaux* etc. Paris, 1886, p. 198, f.n.

Peninsula, is the same country as the one whose Chinese name Parker spells, according to the Annamese pronunciation, *Lo-viet*. This spelling is of no help in this case, for the country meant cannot be other but Johor or Ligor, the names of which approach pretty well to the Chinese sounds *Lo-yüeh*. I strongly propend for Ligor, not only on account of a closer similarity in name, but also because this state extended to the southern end of the peninsula including Johor as well. Ligor becomes therefore identical with Marco Polo's *Lochac*, and the *Lu-kia* and *Loyüeh* (pronounced *Lo-wok* in one dialect) of the Chinese. The position of *Lo-yüeh* at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula appears to me to result quite clearly from an extract quoted by Chavannes\* from the T'ang annals, in which it is said in substance that to the south of the peninsula one comes to a strait one hundred *li* wide from north to south on the northern shore of which is situated the kingdom of *Lo-yüeh*, while on the southern one lay the realm of *Fo-shih*, i.e. *Śrī Bhoja* or Palembang in Sumatra.

It remains to deal with what Parker styles "a mysterious state called *Tanmeiliu*." There is no more mystery about it since I have discovered and fixed the position of Ptolemy's cape and town which he terms *Tēmala*, at the mouth of the Bassein river. This is the *Tanmeiliu* of the Chinese, and the *Simīhla* or *Tha-mee-hla*,† of the present day. It will be seen that the road and sailing distances correspond to those given, if *Tanmeiliu* be placed there, the only thing a little bit out of order being the bearing of *Lohuk*; but this shortcoming may be overlooked on the score that giving correct bearings is by no means the Chinese forte.

Proceeding further down in page 116, I come at the name of the Siamese king in 1371 given there as *Sam-let Chao P'i-ya*. This cannot be meant for anything else but *Somdet Chāu P'hiyā* or *Somdet P'hra*: *Chāu*, the latter version being undoubtedly the most correct. It is not a name as Parker thinks, but a mere title equivalent to "His Majesty the King," and therefore common to all the Siamese sovereigns. The rendering *Somdet Chāu P'hra* suggested by him sounds as nonsense in Siām, and never existed as a title. The monarch who sent the 1370 embassy to China was Paramarājādhirāj I. (pronounced *Borom-rāc'hā-thū-rāt*), who reigned A.D. 1370-1382.

Again, on the same page, under the date 1652, the name of the king given as "*Sēm-liet P'āla Ku-lung Chao Mahu-luk'kun Yu-ti-ya P'u-ai*" is another mere title, the correct reading for which is: *Somdet P'hra*: *Chāu Krung Mahā-nakhôn Ayudhiyā* (Mahānagara Ayudhiā) *P'hū-yāi*; meaning: His Majesty, Lord of the *Krung* (river, meant for the territory on both banks, i.e. the kingdom) of the capital Ayudhya, Supreme Ruler. *P'hū-yāi* means properly Great Being or Chief, but is used in the sense of Sovereign, or Supreme Ruler.

Thus corrected and explained, the title holds good also for the sovereign reigning in 1736, with the only variants that here the terms *P'a* (*P'hra*.)

\* *Les Religieux Eminents*, etc. Paris, 1894, p. 42, fn. 2.

† This is the barbarous spelling adopted in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. ii., p. 722.



and *sz* (*sr̥*) are prefixed and affixed, respectively, to the title of the capital; whence it follows that we must read: *Vara mahānagara Sr̥ Ayudhya*. Mr. Parker is completely out in his interpretation and in the deductions he makes as to the hereditary titles of *Châu*, etc. The personal names of the Kings of Siām were once held too sacred to be handed down in letters to foreign countries and uttered by vulgar lips. Hence none but the general title as given above was used. In proof of this I may refer to Tachard's work, where it will be seen\* that the title of the king who sends presents by La Loubère to Louis XIV. of France in 1687, was laid down in the letter accompanying them in an almost identical form: *Somdet P'hra: Châu Krung Thep' P'hra: Mahā-nakhōn, P'hu Yāi*. The only differences are here that the term *Thep'*, representing the Sanskrit *Devya* or *Daivya* = "Divine," is added to qualify the kingdom of celestial abode, and that the name of the capital, Ayudhya, is suppressed. It will be clearly seen on the other hand, that the personal name of the king,—which was *Nārāi* (*Nārāyaṇa*), and, in extended form, *P'hra: Nārāi Rāmāthibodī* (*Vara Nārāyaṇa Rāmādhīpati*)—does not appear here one whit. Hence it is an error to hold that the names given in Chinese records for the Siāinese kings are anything else but general titles as I explained above; and the remark made at p. 117 that the king who sent tribute in 1749 was of slightly different name from those reigning in 1736 and 1652 becomes thus obviously inadmissible and misleading.

We now come (p. 117) to the reign of P'hyā Tāk-Sín about which a good deal of confusion has been made not only here, but in most books on Siām, on account of the meagre information available in Pallegoix and John Bowring, to the globe-trotters ignorant of the language and history of the country—who wrote the majority of those books. Even Turpin, who worked up from information supplied him by an eye-witness of the events that ushered in P'hyā Tāk's reign, does not tell us much that is either valuable or reliable on this personage. Among other things he states that he was born of a Chinese woman,† which is absolutely incorrect. I have, however,—among the several thousand MS. volumes which I had occasion to hunt up or unearth in this country and examine during the last decade or so,—hit upon a biographical sketch and genealogy of P'hyā Tāk; and find myself therefore in a position of throwing all necessary light on the mystery of the origin and doings of this remarkable man.

He was born in A.D. 1734 of a Chinaman from T'ai-hung‡ in the T'ai-chou district, by the name of *Yōng* (or *Yūng*, 勇) who was *Khún P'hàt*

\* *Second voyage de Siam*. Amsterdam, 1689, p. 258.

† *Hist. civile et naturelle du royaume de Siam*, par M. Turpin. Paris, 1771, vol. ii., p. 336.

‡ 泰洪 I think, though I have no means of verifying whether this is the correct spelling. The Siamese text has *Hai Hōng*, which the Chinese here say is a mistake. Whether *T'ai-hung* or *Hai Hung* be the correct spelling, it is nevertheless certain that the future P'hyā Tāk's father hailed from the T'ai-chou district. After P'hyā Tāk ascended the throne, the T'ai-chou Chinese residents in Siām were, in fact, out of respect for the king's ancestry, termed *Cin-liang*, i.e., "eminent, or great, Chinamen," and enjoyed great favour at court.

or gambling farmer at Ayuthia and had married there a Siāinese woman by the name of *Nòk Īeng* (Pied-starling) and established himself on the road round the city walls, just opposite the residence of C'hàu P'hyā Chakkri the Minister of the North (not to be confounded with the C. P. Catatari the founder of the present dynasty of Siāmese sovereigns). The boy looked well and healthy; but a day or two after birth, while he was lying still nameless in the *kraddong*, or corn van,\* an ominous incident occurred which impressed an entirely new turn to his life and ultimately led him to wear a noble royal crown instead of a prosaic Chinese *queue*. He was found in the morning with the body of a python coiled round his tiny person. This was considered by his father as an exceedingly unlucky omen, portending dire calamities, which usually involves in China, it is said, the abandonment of the child or the drowning of the same in a stream. The mother could hardly be made to acquiesce in the rejection of her offspring imposed by the superstitious husband, and thus a conjugal dispute arose in the hitherto happy household, largely interspersed with loud cries and wailings. While this noise was going on, the old Chàu P'hyā Chakkri had just come down to the road entrance to his residence in order to distribute alms of food to the passing monks. Hearing the unusual tumult and wailing in the Chinaman's house opposite, he sent to enquire into the cause, and upon being apprised of what had happened, he proceeded at once to the Chinaman's abode, and in order to cut short all altercation he proposed that since the Chinaman was resolved to part company with the baby, he would take charge of the latter himself, if agreed upon. This was readily and gladly consented to by the married couple, and Chàu P'hyā Chakkri became thus the protector of the child, whom he had nursed and taken care of exactly as he would of a son of his own. Upon the boy completing one month of age, he named him *Sín*, a Siāinese word which means "wealth." He took afterwards such a liking to him that he eventually adopted him. When *Nāi Sín*, or "Master Sín," had become a grown-up lad, he presented him at court to take service as page in the king's household. Young Sín began thus the career of a successful Siāinese official, becoming in about 1760 assistant governor at first and governor afterwards of Múang Tak, a province now called Rahēng. Hence his title of *P'hyā Tāk*, to which his personal name *Sín* is usually added in order to distinguish him from the host of other *P'hyās Tāk* or governors, at other periods, of the same province.

In 1765, just a short time before Ayudhia was invested by the Burmese army, he had been recalled and promoted to the governorship of

\* A baby in Siām is not named until after the tonsure of his first hair has been performed upon him at the end of one month after his birth. For the first three days of his life the new-born is held to be the property of the spirits of evil, and therefore he is kept in a *kraddong*, which is the flat basket or van used to winnow rice. Only on the fourth day he is transferred to the cradle with great ceremony and comes then under the protection of the benevolent genii presided over by Vessavana (Kuvera); and of the *Mē Sū*, a guardian fairy similar in character and attributes to the *Moipai* or *Parcae*, of the Greeks. From a knowledge of these customs it appears evident that the incident referred to above must have happened to the boy on the second or third day after birth, because he was at the time still lying in the *Kraddong*.

Kamp'hëng-p'het with the title of *Phyā Vajiraprākāra*. But he never acted in this capacity; for while he was preparing to start off to take up his new appointment, the Burmese army approached and he was then requested to stay in order to co-operate in the defence of the capital. In this he was most active and he held on to his post until resistance became hopeless. He then, with a few determined followers broke through the enemy's lines and worked out his way to the eastern coast of the Gulf where he proceeded to rally the scattered forces of his countrymen in order to repel the Burmese. Meanwhile Ayuthia fell on the 7th April, 1767. The bulk of the Burmese army departed with the pillage soon after its capture, leaving only a few detachments to enforce the occupation. P'hyā Tāk who was now ready with a small body of gregaries and a flotilla of war boats, soon attacked the Burmese detachments in their strongholds, and in less than one year he had cleared the country of its enemies and restored temporary order. He then selected Thon-burī (Dhanapuri) or Bāngkōk city, then built on the western side of his river, as his residence and assumed sovereign power.

These are, briefly, the events that raised P'hyā Tāk to the apogee of his career. It will be now clear how he managed to attain supreme rank though the son of a Chinaman; and how it came to pass that he bore a purely Siāinese and not a Chinese name at the outset of his life.

We now come to the obscure point in Mr. Parker's narrative where he says that upon P'hyā Tāk turning mad, he "was replaced by another bearing the Chinese family name of *Chêng* (or *Tang* in the Amoy dialect), known as Phya Tan, or Phaya Chakri. These two often appear to be merged into one by mistake." There was no Chinaman or other personage with a Chinese name mixed up in the succession. P'hyā Tāk reigned until the first months of 1782 when, owing to his insane doings, a revolution broke out in Bangkok which deposed him on the 10th March of the same year. This movement was captained by a *P'hyā Sán*, the governor of Mūang Sán or Sankhaburī (*Sargapuri*), who thenceforward assumed the direction of public affairs but without having the leisure to proclaim himself king, because civil war broke out in the capital and kept him pretty busy. Before long, moreover, Chàu P'hyā Chakkri,—then holding the rank of *Somdet Chàu P'hyā Mahā Krasatr Sūk* (War King) or Generalissimo of P'hyā Tāk's armies, and occupied in restoring order in Kamboja upset by internecine wars and rebellions,—hearing of the anarchy prevailing at head-quarters, soon started for the capital. He arrived in Bangkok on the 6th April, 1782, when the chief of the revolt, P'hyā Sán, made obeisance to him, and surrendered the powers he had usurped. This P'hyā Sán is, no doubt, the personage whose name was turned by the Chinese into *Chêng* or *Tang*, and whom Parker says was known as "Phaya Tan." But he has nothing to do with Chàu P'hyā Chakkri who, by the way, was not of Chinese, but of purely Siāinese descent, and had no ancestral connection whatever with P'hyā Tāk. Hence it is an error to say (p. 119) that the present sovereign of Siām is the sixth of the dynasty and "in a sense partly Chinese by descent," thus conveying the impression that he is a linear descendant of P'hyā Tāk. The founder

of the present dynasty was not P'hyā Tāk, but Chàu P'hyā Chakkrī; hence it is styled the *Chakr-kri* (or *Chakr-tri* = *Cakra* and *Trisūla*) dynasty, and has for emblem Viṣṇu's disc braced up with Śiva's trident. The present reigning sovereign is thus the fifth monarch in the line. *Culālaṅkaraṇa*, meaning "top-knot ornament," the spire-shaped coronet of gold and jewels worn by princes of high rank (*Chàu-Fā*) on their top-knot before their puberal tonsure, in occasions of ceremony—is but his personal name received at the infant tonsure; while his official title or style of reign is *P'hra: Chula Chōm Klāu*, meaning the Minor Summit of the head. This is in reference and deference to his father, who bore the personal name of *Mongku!* (from *Makuṭa* or *Mukuṭa* = Royal Crown) and the official title of *P'hra: Chōm Klāu*, i.e., the Crown or Summit of the Head (of his people, subjects, or realm). It will thus be seen that neither the personal name nor the official title of the present sovereign do correspond at all (p. 119) "almost syllable by syllable, with those of his predecessors of two or three centuries ago."

The former Chàu P'hyā Chakkri, the founder of the present dynasty is known by the official title of *P'hra: P'huttha Yōt Fā Chulālōk*. He transferred the seat of government from the western to the opposite bank of the river, which became thenceforward the site for the royal city proper, and was there crowned with great solemnity on the 13th June 1782. It was he who sent the embassy to China that same year. He deceased on the 7th September 1809, when he was succeeded by his son who bears the official title of *P'hra: P'huttha Lōt Lā Nop'hālāi*. This ruler is wrongly referred to by Parker as Phra Yat Fa Nobhalai; he reigned until the 11th July 1824. We now come to the third member of the dynasty, who was the elder son of the preceding, and is officially styled *P'hra: Nāng Klāu* (He who seats above the heads of his people). He was popularly known, however, by the nickname *P'hra: Chàu Prāsāt-thōng* (the Lord of the golden *Prāsāda* or palace). I am at a loss to account for the designation *Fu*, *Fuk* or *Huk* given him in Chinese accounts. *P'hra: Yu Huca*, suggested as an equivalent by Parker, is a faulty rendering of *P'hra: Chàu Yū Húa* ("The Lord who is at the head"—of the realm), a common title and designation for any sovereign. His personal name while yet a lad was Prince *Thab*; and the title he received afterwards: Prince *Krom Mūn Chetsadū Bodindr* (Ceṣṭā Patindr); hence there is nothing in these names that may justify the Chinese forms *Fu*, *Fuk*, or *Houk*; unless it be the initial syllable *Bo* of *Bodindr*, which seems unlikely.

At p. 119 the *P'hra: Chàu Prāsād Thōng*—referred to as reigning in 1849 is, of course, the same sovereign as above, who deceased on the 2nd April 1851, being succeeded by his younger brother *Mahā Mongku!*, the illustrious father of the present ruler. Siām was truly "never under Chinese literary influence," although, as I had already occasion to remark, the Thai language proper belongs to the family of ancient Sinitic or Southern Chinese speech.

A rather exhilarating statement is the one occurring at page 119, to the effect that the present governor of Ranōng is a "hereditary Chinese rajah . . . who has his walled palace, his dynastic (!) tombs, and everything else

on the old feudal Chinese model." Now the real and dry fact of the matter is, that he holds the position of governor with the title of P'hya like the governors of any other Siānese province of the same (third) class. He certainly is foremost among his colleagues for enterprise, activity, and gentlemanly manners; but like theirs, his office is by no means hereditary, the appointment of a successor entirely depending on the King's choice and pleasure. Many of such offices remain in some cases in the same family for many generations, it is true; but only when the descendants are reputed equal to the task; in every case, however, each new appointment is made by, or at least must receive the sanction of, the king. It is, therefore, an exaggeration to call these civil service officials, for such they are, "hereditary rajahs," especially now that they are placed under the dependence and control of royal commissioners appointed for each *Monthon* (*Maṇḍala*) or departmental division of the realm.

As to "many good books" being available on modern Siām, I am most sceptical, and wonder whether any one deserving to be qualified as such could be found. This is the reason why it becomes so difficult, for one not intimately acquainted—from his own personal experience and investigation—with the country, its history and customs, to deal with anything relating to these subjects by merely basing himself upon extant works. I wish there was such a *rara avis* as a really good book on modern Siām, for then there would be no need or cause for the present criticism. As a matter of fact, however, I know of no country about which so many silly things have been written as this.

And now my task is done. I may, perhaps, appear to Mr. Parker's eyes, in the light of a ferocious and most pedantic Aristarch; but he will readily understand that when statements emanate from a distinguished scholar of his calibre, they carry weight with them, and, if open to criticism, they cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged, lest they mislead others into the same error.

There is, in my opinion, one special line in which Mr. Parker could do inestimable service, with his almost unrivalled powers and grasp of Chinese history and philology, to the cause of Indo-Chinese research in general. Such would be the collection, translation and arrangement, in chronological order, of all the information contained in original Chinese works, on the countries and peoples of Indo-China, from the earliest times up to, say, the fifteenth or sixteenth century of the Christian Era. Information of this kind is, so far,—but nothing like completely,—gathered up *pêle-mêle* in Chinese cyclopedias without any mention—either of the source whence it was drawn or of the date it was acquired, two shortcomings which mar almost entirely the usefulness of that information to the student. If properly handled and arranged as suggested, such a large mass of materials will undoubtedly prove instrumental in elucidating many obscure points and filling in more than one blank in early Indo-Chinese history and ethnography. As it is now, to quote but an instance, such articles in Ma-tuan-lin's celebrated cyclopedia as treat of *Fu-nan*, *Chên-la*, *P'iao*, etc., are of but insignificant help, because though many important scraps of information are there given—we are too often left in the dark as to the

dates they must be referred to, and the original works the compiler extracted them from. The reverse would be the case once these items were dated, arranged in chronological order and complemented by further research, so as to form a sort of historical narrative, as connected as possible under the circumstances, of events in Indo-China as successively learnt by the Chinese from the earliest period up to the time of the Europeans' advent in that region. A work of this kind would entail great labour, no doubt; but the results accruing therefrom may be well expected to repay it to a large extent. Whoever thought of hunting up and translating, for instance, the *Fu-nan-chih*, that original historical account of Fu-nan which we see now and then referred to by Chinese authors with that air of mystery with which the Romans of old spoke of the Sibylline books? If possible to procure, that work will undoubtedly add a good deal to our knowledge of that most puzzling geographical entity.

It is to be earnestly and sincerely hoped that Mr. Parker or some other competent Chinese scholar will undertake the heavy and most needed work of collecting and arranging, as suggested above, as many data scattered in the voluminous literature of China as he can lay hands on, having a bearing on the history and ethnography of Indo-Chinese countries. By so doing he will earn the lasting gratitude and the plaudits of all interested in the past as well as the present of those countries and their peoples. And as to ourselves, modest labourers on the spot, we shall strive to do our duty towards our fellow-workers from without, by collecting in our turn as much of the original and raw material as we can discover *in situ*, in order to add as much as possible to the store of common knowledge. By such an arrangement and by following such a course only, will the study of the past of this region progress by strides hitherto unseen, and the veil fall at last which still so much conceals from us this mysterious—but imperiously fascinating—Isis of the Far East.

Bangkok, September, 1897.

## THE RELIGION OF AKBAR.

BY R. P. KARKARIA.

IN the entire annals of India there is scarcely a more fascinating personality, a more striking character, a more benevolent ruler, than the Mogul monarch who swayed the destinies of this vast continent, with its varied nationalities and creeds, for fifty years during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Gibbon has remarked that, though many rulers have obtained the title of "the Great" from admiring posterity, only one—Charlemagne—has this title embodied in his very name. Had that eminent historian brought down his knowledge of Asiatic history to the period beyond that of his monumental work, he would have found another instance in the celebrated Mogul Emperor. He bore in his very name the title, not only of "great," but of "the greatest," this being the meaning of the Arabic word "Akbar."\* Well did he deserve the name. He was great not only by comparison with Asiatic rulers, but also with those of Europe. His was pre-eminently an age of greatness both in the East and in the West. It was the age of Elizabeth in England, of Henri Quatre in France, of Philip the Second in Spain, but Akbar does not shrink in comparison with any of them. Indeed, in one important matter he was superior to them all, namely, in religious toleration. While the face of Europe was being torn asunder by the great religious quarrels that arose out of the Reformation, the peninsula of India, which had been a prey to dynastic and religious and racial quarrels for five centuries, presented the unusual aspect of peace and prosperity with the utmost religious tolerance. A century later there was another coincidence of great monarchs in Europe and Asia, when Aurangzib was the contemporary of Louis XIV. But then, unfortunately, India did not present a contrast to the intolerance and persecution which prevailed in the West. The French and the Mogul monarchs resembled each other in no respects more than in bigotry.

Akbar's greatness appears all the more remarkable when we consider the circumstances of his birth and early years. Born during the flight of his luckless father from the throne, he had to spend his early boyhood in exile at a foreign court. His literary training was insignificant, and up to the last he could neither read nor write himself. Succeeding to the recently-recovered throne of his father and grandfather at the age of fourteen, he had the gigantic task before him of reconquering most of the provinces of the Empire and of organizing its government. To the already formidable task of subduing Upper India he added that of conquering the Deccan, and of recovering for the throne of Delhi those kingdoms which had broken away from the central power more than a century before, under the weak Tughlaks and Lodis. This latter work gave him immense trouble, and, in spite of his exertions, he had to leave it as a legacy to his descendants, who ruined the Empire in carrying it out.

\* Literally "greater," except when coupled with the name of God or with the article "al" = the, and becomes "Al-Akbar" when it is equivalent to "greatest."—*Ed.*

Side by side with the work of conquering went on the work of civil administration, to which the sovereign paid special attention. He had always before him the highest standard of a ruler—to do good to the people placed under his care ; and if he was ambitious of extending the bounds of his empire, he was also ambitious of benefiting the conquered races, and of leaving them the better for his rule.

His chief object was to unite the different masses under his rule, in bonds of loyalty to each other as well as to the throne. Community of creed, or, at least, a genuine and thoughtful sympathy of one creed with another, he was wise enough to know, was the best uniting link of a nation, or several nations, torn by diversity of race and language. But the creeds which existed would not submit to his wishes. Though he appreciated the benefit of a close union of State and Church,\* his clear vision showed him that the Church could not in India be the Mahomedan Church of his predecessors on the throne. A State Church must be one that would include the vast majority of his subjects. He resolved, therefore, to seek outside his own religion the new creed that was to be of use to him in the government of his Empire.

We have, then, the interesting spectacle of the ruler of a great Empire in anxious search for a new religion, finally discovering or inventing one of his own, and trying to establish it. A monarch who diverts his attention from the pleasures or the cares of his throne to speculative questions is rare in the annals of the world. Some who have done this have proved both indifferent philosophers and kings. But in Akbar was seen the consummation of that famous ideal of Plato—the philosopher and king in one.

The fault which Akbar found with Mahomedanism was its bigotry and stern, unbending character. His own temperament was opposed to all intolerance. If we believe in heredity we have a good example of its effects here. The house of Timur may be said to have possessed the virtue of enlightenment and tolerance in religious matters to a remarkable degree. Timur himself, though he has a bad name in history for cruelty and ruthless conquest, was not a bigoted persecutor, but an enlightened patron of science and art. Religious war was a mere pretext with him for conquest. Timur's kind treatment of the poet Hafiz and the philosophical historian Ibn Khaldūn† shows his care for letters ; and indeed he has himself left behind him his celebrated "Memoirs" and "Institutes." His descen-

\* Our learned contributor, from whose pen we hope to receive a continuance of valuable contributions to Indian History, the inner life of which so entirely, in our humble opinion, escapes, or is ignored by, writers on "Indian Affairs," or "India before the English," has, unfortunately, out of consideration for the phraseology of readers, adopted in his article terms like "Church and State," which are unintelligible in, and inapplicable to, Muhammadanism. We beg to assure him that he need not go out of his way to adapt the perfect language (Arabic) of Islām to this Review, the supporters of which would be, indeed, more grateful to him for *scrupulously* preserving the modes of thought of the indigenous authorities that alone can have the fullest weight with them on the special questions so ably dealt with by Professor Karkaria.—*Ed.*

† IBN KHALDUN is the great Tunisian historian of Arabic Literature, whose "prolegomena" or "Muqaddamāt" are quite equal to anything possessed in ancient and modern history, on the method of arriving at what constitutes a historical fact.—*Ed.*



dant, Baber, was still more enlightened and tolerant. Baber's love and taste for literature is well-known, and we have proofs of it in his poems and in the renowned Autobiography. Humayûn, Akbar's father, followed suit, and he too dictated his memoirs. Enlightenment and tolerance were thus in Akbar's blood, and it is no wonder that he turned his attention early to religious problems.

The time also was favourable. Islam was completing the first thousand years of its existence, and the minds of men were in an unsettled state, expecting the millennium.\* People renounced earthly things, and gave themselves up to meditation and wild hopes of the renovation of the world at the advent of the promised prophet, Imam Mehdi. Scholars disputed several points about this Mehdi, and numerous sects were established. The sect of the Mehdivis in India lasted for some time. Its most important follower was Shaikh Mubarak, a learned and pious man, who would have been forgotten but for his two sons, Abul Fazl and Faizi, who have become famous in connection with Akbar and his religion. The persecution to which Mubarak and his sons were submitted by the orthodox party alienated them from the orthodox faith. Abul Fazl acquired a large share of the Emperor's favour owing to their common views and to his great learning. He was well versed in philosophy and theology, and knew the Hindu system perfectly.

Under Abul Fazl's guidance, Akbar determined to examine all existing religions, and to base his own on the results of this study and inquiry. The doctors of the Mahomedan faith assembled in the council of the Ulema were the official guides of the sovereign in all theological matters, and even in some state affairs. But their narrow ways displeased Akbar. A discussion during 1575 about the lawful number of wives a man can take was the occasion of Akbar's getting seriously displeased with the Ulema and their opinions. During this discussion he saw that renowned Imams differed in their opinions, and that there was no fixed authority as was pretended. From that time Akbar turned to advisers of other creeds. He therefore ordered Abul Fazl to assemble the representatives of as many religious and philosophical systems as he could. This was done, and Akbar had at his court a sort of Parliament of Religions, in which Hindus, Jews, Christians, Parsis, and Sufis were all represented. The Christians deputed from Goa were three priests, Aquariva, Monserrato, and Enriques, who remained for a long time at the court, expounding their faith, and vainly hoping to convert the inquisitive monarch. The Parsis were represented, according to the "*Dabistan*," by a learned scholar from Kerman, by name Ardeshir, a pupil of the famous Azer Kaiwan; Badaoni says that some fire-worshippers also came from Naosari in Gujarat, to prove the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. But Naosari itself then required to be enlightened about its own religion, and it is not probable that men from

\* This application of the Biblical word "millennium" to Islam requires further explanation from our eminent contributor, whilst the Imam Mahdi is rather a Messiah, deliverer and forerunner of the last day of judgment than a "promised Prophet." The doctrine of "Mahdi" applies chiefly to the Shiah, and is the, at any time, expected, and now hidden, 12th descendant of Ali.—*Ed.*

that place\* took any active part in the proceedings. The Dabistan has preserved some of the discussions at the meetings, which were held in a building at Fatehpur Sikri called the Ibadat Khana or Prayer House. One is between a Christian and a Mahomedan; and another contains the speech of the philosopher which may be taken to represent Akbar's views, as well as Akbar's own direct remarks.

The reasons which led Akbar away from Islam and towards other religions are well given by the great historian of the reign, Abd-el-Kadir al Badaoni, who was a bigoted Mahomedan and entirely opposed to his master's views, but who was still employed by that liberal king to write a history of his times. From this work of Badaoni we get the fullest account of the subject, as the other great historical work, the Akbar Namah of Abul Fazl of which the famous Ain-i-Akbari is a part, devotes only a few pages to this most important matter, connected as it is with the author himself. Abul Fazl intended to write a separate treatise on it, as he promises, in Ain 77 of the First Book, that should "my occupations allow sufficient leisure and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to attempt a separate volume on this subject." But this was not destined to be, and we are deprived of that authentic book.

Badaoni says: "The principal reason is the large number of learned men of all denominations and sects that came from various countries to court, and received personal interviews. Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of everyone, especially of such as were not Mahomedans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything that was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to his old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islamic) principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on his Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like Islam, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies; and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself?"

\* I may say here that the tradition about a Parsi priest, by name Mehrji Rana, having gone to Akbar's court and expounded the Zoroastrian faith to him, is baseless. I could find no historical authority whatever for it, and his name is not so much as mentioned by any historian. The honour of teaching that faith at Akbar's court must be conceded to Ardeshir Kermani, whose name is explicitly mentioned by historians.

The new religion, then, of Akbar was eclectic, and based on matters culled from most existing religions. We gain some idea of it from the following inscription written by Abul Fazl for a temple in Kashmir, which has been translated by Blochmann, and is quoted by Tennyson at the beginning of his splendid posthumous poem on our subject :

" O God, in every temple I see people that see thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise thee.

" Polytheism and Islam feel after thee.

" Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.'

" If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to thee.

" Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque.

" But it is thou whom I search from temple to temple.

" Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy ; for neither of them stand behind the screen of thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox, but the dust of the rose-petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller."

This shows the spirit in which the notion of God and His attributes is seized. He tries to take the common basis of all religions, and excise all distinctions of forms and creeds. The exclusiveness and narrow formularies of all the great religions are ostentatiously discarded. There are to be no miracles, no ceremonies for this new faith. It is pure Monotheism, and nothing else, at least, in its original conception. The late Poet-Laureate has well expressed all this in his exquisite lines :

" He knows Himself, men nor themselves nor Him,  
For every splinter'd fraction of a sect  
Will clamour, 'I am on the Perfect Way  
All else is to perdition.'

" Shall the rose  
Cry to the lotus, 'No flower thou'? the palm  
Call to the cypress 'I alone am fair'?  
The mango spurn the melon at his foot?  
'Mine is the one fruit Alla made for men.'  
Look how the living pulse of Alla beats  
Thro' all His world. If every single star  
Should shriek its claim, 'I only am in heaven!'  
Why, that were such sphere-music as the Greek  
Had hardly dreamed of. There is light in all,  
And light, with more or less of shade, in all  
Man-modes of worship. . . .  
I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds."

The new religion was necessarily in antagonism with many of the institutions of Islam, which Akbar gradually but steadily undermined by various ordinances. He abolished compulsory performance of the five daily prayers, ablution, fasts, alms, and pilgrimage, the assembly for worship on Fridays, and the call to prayer ; he abrogated the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" food ; he permitted games of chance and the sale of wine ; and he forbade the marriage of more than one wife and the circumcision of boys under the age of twelve, and even after that age the latter ceremony was to be optional only. To obliterate the remembrance of the old religion and its traditions he even changed the Era of the Calendar, introducing, instead of the Hijri Era, that of his own acces-

sion, after the fashion of the ancient Persian kings, and the old Persian solar calendar with its 12 months of 30 days each and 5 complementary days, its festivals of the seasons instead of the lunar Calendar of the Mahomedans. Even letters peculiar to the Arabic alphabet, which occurred in many words, were converted into such as were purely Persian. The names of Mahomed, Mustafa, etc., were no longer given to children, and those that had received them already changed them for others.

Akbar came gradually to know that his faith was too spiritual for ordinary men, and not likely to recommend itself to the people at large who required visible symbols and images. He therefore allowed the Sun and Fire to be introduced as symbols.

“The Sun, the Sun ! they rail  
At me, the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun  
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,  
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,  
And warms the blood of Shiah and Soonee,  
Symbol the Eternal !”

He may have taken this idea from the Zoroastrian faith, for which he had great reverence ; or from the Hindus, as they too venerate fire, and Badaoni says that Bir Bal, Akbar's Hindu minister, introduced the sacred fire into the palace, where it was ever after nourished and kept ablaze as in Parsi fire-temples. The Parsis indeed have many traditions showing that the Emperor was actually converted to their faith by their scholars at his court, and that they actually invested him with the sacred “sudrah” and “kusti” ! A flattering tradition this, but alas ! without any foundation. Another tradition there is about Akbar's conversion to the Catholic faith and his baptism. This, too, cannot be maintained. It is true he venerated the crucifix and had a great respect for the Virgin, but either he could not get over his difficulties about the dogmas of that faith or had not the courage to avow his conviction. He had a Christian wife, and one of his sons, Murad, was brought up by the Padres ; and according to Badaoni he began his lessons “in the name of Christ” instead of the usual “in the name of God.” But the Goanese Padres were disappointed in him, and after a prolonged stay, during which they were well-treated, they returned on their way to Goa, but were killed near Cuncalim. It may be noted that the Catholic Church has lately beatified these martyrs to their faith. Those who care for an account of their mission and their opinion of Akbar's character will find it in the great Italian history of Bartoli, and the French work of Father Catron, who based his narrative on the contemporary memoirs of Mannucci, the Venetian.

There was no mention of inspiration or revelation in Akbar's faith at first, but gradually we find that the notion of inspiration was introduced, and the Emperor assumed almost the rôle of a prophet : “Whenever, from lucky circumstances,” says Abul Fazl, “the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their king, on account of the high position he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well ; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of Divine Wisdom, which banishes from his heart everything

that is conflicting." This sounds almost like a claim to infallibility. "A king will, therefore, sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes conversely a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow" (Blochmann, I. 163). "Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age, and this book is a witness of it."

Some accounts assert that Akbar even enjoined prostration to himself on his followers. He sent forth a public edict that the sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening and at noon and midnight. He also, says Badaoni, had 1,001 Sanskrit names of the sun collected and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun; "he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of the ears with his fists." He used to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead. The most capacious order that he issued was regarding the shaving of the beard by his courtiers, which caused great heart-burnings among the Musalmans.

All this shows that during the latter years of his reign, Akbar degenerated, and his faith shared the lot of human inventions. Originating as a purely spiritual idea, it gradually got materialised. It is interesting to note the fate of this new religion. Akbar had at last got a faith of his own—but if he built any hopes of political unity upon it, and expected a wide-spread popularity for it, he was deceived. Being based upon all religions, it was shunned by them all. The common people could not comprehend it even if they had a mind to take kindly to it, which they never had. The learned men for whom it was intended were dissatisfied, and as most of them were of the old faith, they hated it heartily. A list of members of this "Divine Faith," is preserved, which contains 18 names, all told, including Abul Fazl and Faizi. Its founder, with all his imperial authority and immense moral and material influence, could not obtain more than 18 adherents during his lifetime. The vast attempt which had caused so much trouble and anxiety proved almost an abortion. According to some Mahomedan accounts Akbar himself deserted it in the last years of his life, and died a penitent convert to Islam. However that may have been, the "Divine Faith" did not survive him. His son and successor Selim, though no fanatic, and quite indifferent to religious speculation, had proved a thorn in the side of his father, even in Akbar's lifetime, continually rebelling and plotting against him. He had Abul Fazl, the author and instigator of all these new-fangled notions, assassinated a few years before Akbar's own death. When he came to the throne as Jehangir, the "Divine Faith" died a natural death.

" Well, I dream'd

That stone by stone I reared a sacred fane,  
A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque nor Church,  
But loftier, simpler, always open-door'd  
To every breath from heaven, and Truth and Peace  
And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein ;  
But while we stood rejoicing, I and thou,  
I heard a mocking laugh ' the new Koran ;'

And on the sudden, and with a cry 'Saleem'  
Thou, thou—I saw thee fall before me, and then  
Me too the black-wing'd Azrael overcame,  
But death had ears and eyes ; I watch'd my son,  
And those that follow'd, loosen, stone from stone,  
All my fair work ; and from the ruin arose  
The shriek and curse of trampled millions, even  
As in the time before."

It is melancholy to observe the fate of such a noble attempt at ameliorating the moral and spiritual condition of India, and at purging the existing religions of their grosser accretions of ages. Since Akbar's time his mantle has fallen upon a race from the far West which tries to continue his noble work in his spirit, with better means at command and greater chances of success.\* May their efforts be more permanent, and leave a more lasting impress on the sands of time than those of the great and good Akbar !

\* We shall be much interested in learning from the distinguished author of the above article in what sense the British race is endeavouring to continue Akbar's work in combining what it thinks good in all religions, instead of, as is believed, secularizing them all.—*Ed.*

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

## VEDIC ACCENT AND INTONATION.—SIR M. MONIER-WILLIAMS ON SOME REMARKS BY DR. R. N. CUST.

WITH reference to an article on "International Oriental Congresses" by Dr. R. N. Cust in your July number, which I have only recently seen, allow me to rectify the false impression produced by Dr. Cust's animadversions on the part taken by me in the Berlin Oriental Congress of 1881. What really happened was this :—

Knowing that certain eminent German Sanskritists, who have never visited India, devote themselves to the philological study of the R̥g-Veda without realizing its constant daily use in the *Sandhyā* services of the Brāhmans, I decided to read a paper embodying the information I had gained on this subject during my Indian travels, especially directing attention to the more beautiful R̥g-Veda hymns which have an almost Christian character. The subject seemed the more suitable considering that I was present at the Congress as a Delegate of the Government of India. The paper was not meant to be a curiosity, but a serious contribution to Sanskrit learning in its connexion with Hindū religious usages, and was read by me at 8 o'clock in the morning, *not*, as Dr. Cust states, before a "hilarious assembly" but before an earnest-minded audience of early risers, consisting of 35 to 40 persons.

All who know me or my speeches and writings for the last 45 years, will never believe that I could have uttered a word casting the slightest ridicule on the religion of fellow-creatures, and especially on that of Indian fellow-subjects, as is implied by Dr. Cust.

When I finished reading, Pandit Shyāmaji Krishṇavarma—who was *not* brought to the meeting by me (like a "monkey" by a "showman" as Dr. Cust sarcastically remarks), but was sent to the Congress (and his expenses paid) by the India Office to assist in throwing light on the languages, customs, and ideas of his own country—came up to my side. He was at that time, and still is, a Hindū of the Hindūs, and he wished to show German scholars the importance of Vedic accent and intonation, especially in its connection with Sanskrit Philology, and the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, in the interpretation of which no one, probably, surpasses him. He, therefore, with my permission repeated a few verses of certain R̥g-Veda hymns in Sanskrit with the right intonation—an intonation of which I could not myself have given any idea, and one which may very possibly have amused those who may have come to the meeting out of mere curiosity, but which must have been deeply interesting to every Sanskritist who knew the importance of accentuation in affecting the meaning of Sanskrit words in ancient times.

How any of those present could have misconstrued either the Pandit's motive or mine, as it now appears Dr. Cust did, seems incomprehensible. Not a word of censure was breathed by him, or by any one else at the time, nor in any of the critical reports which appeared in the *Times* or

other trustworthy newspapers. On the contrary, Dr. Cust himself came up to me, while the audience was leaving the room, and congratulated both me and the Pandit, in a most cordial manner, on my paper and on his supplementary words.

Perhaps you may be able to reprint the paper as it appears in the "Transactions" of the Berlin Congress, and as it was delivered more than 16 years ago. It will probably interest many of your readers, and would be the best reply to Dr. Cust's unjustifiable imputations.

MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS,

Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.

Since writing the above I have had a letter from Professor A. Weber, of the University of Berlin, who was President of the Aryan section of the Oriental Congress of 1881, and was in the Chair when I read my paper. The following is an extract from his letter :

"BERLIN, RITTER-STRASSE 56,

"December 2, 1897.

"I fully share your indignation at the utter impropriety of the accusations directed by Mr. Cust against you and Mr. Shyāmaji Krishṇavarma on account of your paper on the Sandhyā ceremonies of the Hindūs, and his exhibition of the mode of accenting the R̥g-Veda verses belonging to the Sandhyā. We were *all thankful to you both*, and as the mode of accentuation sounded *to us*, not one of us could have come to the idea that you had ridiculed the rite."

#### THE GERMANS AT KIAO-CHOU.

The Kiao-chou affair is amusing, but it may turn out to be serious. No doubt when the treaty with Russia was disclosed by the *North China Daily News*, "interpellations" were promptly addressed by various Powers both to Russia and China; and, if they denied the soft impeachment, of course they are estopped from objecting to Germany's action on the ground of any previous Russian lien based upon the alleged treaty. However, those and other political considerations are for the governments interested to work out. More to the present purpose it will be to give a sketch of that part of Shan Tung, taken from native sources.

It will be seen from the map that a little to the north-east of Kiao-chou Bay there is a lake called Po-p'ai Hu, or "Hundred Veins Lake,"—no doubt from the innumerable rills which enter it from the watershed lying to its north. The Wu-lung, or "Five Dragon" River rising in the south, apparently runs past the city of Kao-mi into the lake, and then continues its course to the River Kiao, which, in some way or other, is so improved by canalisation that it runs both north into the Gulf of Chih-li and south into the Kiao-chou Bay. The rivers Lwan-shih, or "Confused Stones," and T'ai-sha, or "Terrace Sands," run from the north into the River Kiao, north of the watershed. The first is also called the Lo-shih, or "Joyfu Stones," a name which may possibly refer to the well-known Ping-tu gold mines; and also to the coal mines on the upper course, which last have been clandestinely worked for some years: a year ago these coal mines caught fire, and the country around was in consequence devastated to a certain extent. Besides the coal mines, (of which nothing is known to the



writer except the above particulars reported by a Chinese newspaper), there are gold mines in the P'ing-tu—Lai-chou region, and these have been attracting the attention of foreign experts for many years past. Chinese steamers have been running between the treaty-port of Chefoo and the village port of Lai-chou city for some time, and it is generally understood that the gold mines have been successful, or would have been so under European management. The gold and silver mines near Chefoo lie beyond the area of the Kiao-chou river system. The Lai-chou prefecture has some valuable white marble quarries, and also a supply of soap-stone, which the Chinese crush and make up into balls for white-wash : the coal-producing regions of Lai-chou yield quantities of black marble. There is no opium grown in the area drained by the lake system ; but, broadly speaking, Lai-chou and Kiao-chou between them may be said to occupy half of the total Shan Tung area which exports straw braid.

Every one seems to agree that Kiao-chou is by far the best naval port in the north of China ; and, as for its commercial capacities, a glance at the map will show that the two branches of the Taku River and the Tsimo River between them drain a large area to the east,—the silk-producing country. The Lo-shih or Lwan-shih River seems to have originally formed the head waters of that part of the Kiao River which runs north, while the T'ai-sha River similarly formed the head waters of the western branch. At the points where these two rivers approach the watershed, they seem to have been connected in ancient times by a canal, which canal, together with the two lower waters, bisects the province, and on Chinese maps is all together marked as the River Kiao. There is a third branch of that name running from the south into the lake. The coal mines of Wei Hien, lying to the west of the River Wei, are fairly well known to Europeans, but do not form part of the lake system : if it is true that there is also good coal at P'ing-tu—and it is certain that there is gold,—a new open port at Kiao-chou would open up quite a little era of new industries,—mining, silk filatures, straw-braid factories ; marble, lime, cement, white-wash, and other exports.

E. H. PARKER.

#### THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON MR. TILAK'S APPEAL.

While we do not suppose, with some of our contemporaries, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were swayed by any political bias, in refusing to admit the appeal of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, this ending of the case is felt by many lawyers, as well as laymen, to be unsatisfactory. The Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, on which the conviction was based, had only once before come under the interpretation of any Indian High Court. Its language is obscure, and no assistance towards the legal meaning of the word "disaffection" is to be got out of the cases in England, where seditious libel is only a misdemeanour. The fact that Mr. Justice Strachey unguardedly defined it as the "absence of affection," however much he qualified his definition, shows that the public in general and newspaper editors in particular would gain by some full and authoritative statement of the meaning and principle of the Section; and of the limit allowed by the Explanation to comments on Government

measures and policy. The astounding differences in the sentences passed in the case of the *Pratod* by the Satara Judge and in appeal by the High Court of Bombay point to the need of guidance by the highest tribunal. Sedition, disaffection, disloyalty—these are terms not settled by Statute : so what one Judge thinks heinous, another may consider a light misbehaviour ; and there is a danger of political feeling overruling judgment and sentence. What the "Times" said in a recent leader on the Indian matrimonial case of "Skinner v. Skinner" will probably be felt in regard to Tilak's appeal. "It strikes one as a mistake on the part of a tribunal, such as the Judicial Committee, to shirk stating its opinion, as it often does, as to important questions of principle raised before it. Such timorousness, borrowed from the practices of English Courts, has some excuse in them—a broad question left undecided in one case is pretty sure to come up soon in another ; whereas appeals from India to the Judicial Committee are costly and rare. The reputation of the Committee would be strengthened if less ingenuity were shown in generally deciding the bare *minimum* of controversial matter."

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#### BOMBAY PRESS PROSECUTIONS AND NATIVE OPINION.

BY A BOMBAY OFFICIAL.

There are signs that the unrest produced in the Deccan by the recent prosecution of editors and printers is somewhat lulled by the cases coming to an end, and the fact that no evidence has been produced to show any connection between the seditious articles and the murder by the self-accused Damodhur of Mr. Rand, I.C.S., and Lieut. Ayerst at Poona on Jubilee Day. The judgment of the Satara Court recorded by Mr. Aston shows the influence of that event on his mind, which, as well as some peculiar and extra-judicial views about the Brahman community, accounts for the sentences of transportation for life and seven years imprisonment with hard labour passed on the editor and printer of the *Pratod* newspaper in regard to an article about Canadian independence. The learned Judges of Bombay have reduced these terms to one year and three months respectively, a wholesome sign that the High Court has not been moved by panic or any outside notions in deciding between the Crown and the subject. No recent act of judicature has given more general satisfaction in this country."

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"The case of Mr. Kelkar, editor of the *Poona Vaibhav*, is peculiar. Lord Sandhurst's Government prosecuted him in the High Court, where the jury were divided in opinion, as well they might be, in regard to an article of no great importance, and not to be called seditious in an off-hand fashion after merely reading it once over. It would have been a stronger, as well as a magnanimous, course, if the Local Government had directed that "The prisoner shall not be vexed twice ; the jury do not convict him ; let him go." Instead of this he was facing a second trial ; and as the Sessions drew near, he apologized and so this matter ends. It is said that, as in the case of Tilak whom he had just appointed to Council, the Governor was swayed by mingled feelings on account of the special value attached to

Mr. Kelkar's support by the Bombay Government a few years ago in the charges made against a high Civilian. Kelkar's record shows the need of something like continuity in the delicate matter of interference with the press. It is alleged in Bombay that Kelkar twice before apologized when Sir James Ferguson was Governor; because he had published in the *Poona Vaibhav* several articles, containing statements like the following: "Our English rulers, instead of setting a good example to the people, show them the way to receive bribes." These articles are printed in a Blue Book supplied to both Houses of Parliament, being part of a history of a famous trial, compiled by Mr. Ommanney, Inspector-General of Police. Some of them were written after the two apologies. Mr. Ommanney, who collected them, was directed by the then Bombay Government to open communication with Kelkar, a matter of such importance that the Resident at Baroda was applied to, as Kelkar was at first unwilling to leave that Native State. It is plain from Mr. Ommanney's censures on the Bombay Governor, that he thought the apologies were the result of compulsion, and that the effect of gagging a paper was to leave the Government in darkness about grievances that it would not hear of in any other way. No statesman would deny the general soundness of the principle. It applies, however, also to attempts to make use of journalists as informers. Such editors would soon become known and distrusted, and their journals would cease to be reliable on facts, and to express real native opinion. Anyhow there is some excuse for the sarcastic comments now made in Poona about Kelkar's latest apology, as having no value and adding no prestige to the Bombay Government. Things in Bombay point to the advantage of a time of "masterly inactivity" in other matters than frontier entanglements. The famine in the Deccan, the plague raging at Poona, the heavy tax for the punitive police there, make up a state of things in which it is not wise to embitter the native press, or even to appear to suppress the free utterance of discontent, as distinguished from disloyalty. The law has been more than sufficiently vindicated. The newspapers should not continue to be pulled back with the lasso like a herd of wild mustangs. The press is admittedly important as a means of knowledge, because officials are now becoming less and less in touch with the people. At Poona great bitterness exists between the native and the English community. What is wanted in the Bombay Council is a steady guide whose motto in dealing with natives is to "be to their failings very blind, and to their merits very kind." Indeed, the greatest Indian administrators have often advised this course as the wisest statecraft.

A BOMBAY OFFICIAL.

#### INDIA AND ENGLAND.

A former Commissioner in the N.W.P. writes with reference to Mr. R. C. Dutt's "England and India," which is noticed among our reviews of books elsewhere:

"Although I am a Conservative in politics, and disagree on many points with Mr. Dutt's version of our contemporary history,—as for instance his account of the causes of the Afghan war of 1878-79 which did *not* occur

simultaneously with the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, but was a natural consequence of it—yet I find myself completely at one with him in his view of the evils from which India is suffering and the remedies which he advocates. Whether those remedies are more likely to be applied through the agency of the Conservative party in Great Britain, or, as Mr. Dutt seems to think, by the efforts of the Liberal party alone, is, perhaps, a superfluous question. The key-note of the whole difficulty is sounded by Mr. Dutt when he says in his preface that “the direct administration of India by the Crown has, along with many great and obvious advantages, this one disadvantage—that the administration is virtually responsible to none.” The Government of India is a benevolent despotism; the inhabitants of India, whether of Indian or European birth, whether they are officials or non-official, have absolutely no control over its actions. For it is obvious that the British residents—even the civil and military officers of the Crown, unless they are in the Governor-General’s Council, have no more voice in determining the policy of the Government than the native gentlemen, or even the native peasantry. The only power which can, and occasionally does, control the Government of India, is the British Parliament, a body which is subject to all the humours and inconstancies of the electorate of Great Britain. Practically for the time being the democracy of Great Britain is the autocrat of India,—an autocrat who has the best intentions no doubt, but whose convictions are constantly changing, and who, in respect of matters not immediately touching his interest, can neither make up his own mind before action, nor be certain what his purpose was after the event. At the present moment the whole country is hotly debating the question not only whether the frontier policy of the Indian Government is wrong or right, but how it came about, and which party is responsible. Yet one thing is perfectly certain; that if the people of India during the last ten years had had any—the very slightest control over the taxation of the country, or the application of its revenues, the Government would have been forced either to abandon its expensive schemes of frontier defence, or to have prosecuted them under the direct sanction of Parliament at the cost of the British exchequer.

I believe that every English resident in India, official or non-official, is as fully persuaded of the necessity for retrenchment on the part of the Government as the most patriotic Indian can be. The revenues are not elastic; the public debt is assuming enormous proportions; the drain caused by exchange is not likely to cease; the civil administration must become more expensive with every improvement; and yet in almost every department the subordinate officials are still underpaid.

I am glad to see that Mr. Dutt dismisses as impracticable the idea of protecting native industries by import duties. His advocacy of a permanent land settlement for the whole of India is far more to the point. It is true that the province of Bengal, in which the settlement is permanent, contributes comparatively a smaller share to the revenues of India than other provinces, but it is also true that it adds less than any to the military charges. I have had experience of a permanently settled district in the N.W.P.—a district, too, in which the incidence of the revenue on

each acre of land was higher than in many temporarily settled districts—and I can say unhesitatingly that the land under a permanent settlement will sustain a larger population in greater general comfort, and with less liability to famine in seasons of drought, than is the case in the most favoured tracts of country where the revenue is subject to periodical assessment. Of course, the limitation of the Government revenue must be accompanied by a limitation of the rent to be taken by the Zamindars from their tenants. If the zamindar pays a fixed demand upon the whole area of the estate, the tenants upon, at least, one-third of the area should also pay a fixed demand. Thus an intermediate class of cultivator is created between the Zamindars and the tenants at will, from which the ranks of either of the two latter may be replenished. In those Eastern districts of the N.W.P. in which the permanent settlement was introduced, not the least advantage which has resulted from it is that this intermediate class of tenants at fixed rents almost entirely supplants the professional money-lender, so that if, through extravagance or any other cause, a Zamindar is compelled to sell or mortgage his rights, the man who steps in is not a Banya, knowing nothing about agriculture or the management of a village, but an energetic agriculturalist who knows well what to do with his newly-acquired property.

Is there any chance, however, of detailed reforms in Indian administration ever forming part of a party programme in Great Britain? and if there were such a chance, is it desirable that the Government of India should be guided in the details of its administration by the voice of the British public? Nothing would more tend to rivet the existing despotism upon the necks of the Indian people, while the despotism, if better intentioned, would certainly be far less intelligent than it is at present.

No; what is wanted is that more control should be exercised in India, and by the Indian people, over their own affairs.

A first step towards this would be to define what India is; and to restrict the Government of India to the administration of that country. When the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India, the term did *not* include the greater part of Burma, nor the greater part of the territory beyond the Indus, since acquired, neither of which are in the slightest degree connected with India proper. The whole of those territories have been acquired and are administered by the Indian Government, not for the sake of India, nor by any desire of the people of India, but in furtherance of schemes hatched in England, and generated by the exigencies of England's European policy. The Afghan war of 1878, though I believe it was necessary to preserve India from invasion, was forced upon India by the vacillating policy of England in the Russo-Turkish war. The Amir of Afghanistan, despairing of English support, had thrown himself upon that of Russia, and the Russians, provoked at the final issue of affairs in Europe, seized the opportunity of causing trouble to the English in Asia. So long as the Indian Government is compelled by the foreign policy of Great Britain to divert its attention from the administration of Indian affairs proper to the extension of British influence beyond the borders of India, so long will the Indian people suffer from neglect.

The Burmese people are of a completely different race from any of those inhabiting India; their religion is different, their traditions and customs are different, their language is different. If it is to the interest of the British people that Burma should be a dependency of Great Britain, let it be administered, as Ceylon is, from Great Britain direct. There is no sense at all in its being a dependency of a dependency. Let its frontier policy be directed from England instead of from India under English control. India itself is not a homogeneous country, but there are many circumstances which, even in ancient days, tended in certain ways to unify it. The caste system pervades the whole of it. The shrines to which pilgrimages are made are situated in every remote corner of it, and there has been, as it were, a common citizenship among its inhabitants from the remotest days, while, since the Queen assumed her title of Empress, the idea of a common nationality has dominated the thought of at least the educated classes, many of whose number are using all their energy to make it a reality. But Burma is in every respect completely heterogeneous, and if it be ruled, as it must be under a single Government, upon principles applicable to India alone, it is certain that much mismanagement will ensue. Already there have been grievous complaints arising from the mechanical application to Upper Burma of the Indian Excise rules. If Burma were removed from the dominion of the Indian Government, it is probable that it would be better administered itself. That India would be better administered is, I think, certain. The Government of India would be relieved of work which must necessarily hamper its attention to Indian affairs; it would not be distracted by boundary questions, or tempted by projects involving new complications with foreign powers. The original cost of the Burmese war should be refunded to India, and made a charge to be defrayed from the future revenues of Burma. It would, perhaps, be impossible for the countries on the North-West Frontier to be treated in the same way; but there is no reason why some financial arrangement should not be made, by which, while India should pay a fair contribution for the protection of her frontier from actual invasion, the British Parliament should defray all the charges entailed by the exigencies of a foreign policy which is purely British. Public opinion has undoubtedly been greatly drawn towards India by the events of the last year. There is a general impression that at all events in the matter of finance England has not behaved generously to India in the past. Sir Henry Fowler, who of all Secretaries of State for India, has most captivated the affections of the Anglo-Indian well-wishers of that country, has publicly expressed the opinion that the present financial burdens should be alleviated by a grant from Imperial funds. The Conservative party therefore need fear no opposition to generous measures. But it is necessary that the needs of India should be formulated in as few words as possible, and that its demands should be limited to such a change of *principle* in the Government as will secure measures of reform in the future, rather than expanded so as to include all the details of the reforms which are desired. A fair discrimination between Indian and purely British interests, with increased control of the former by the people of

India, and of the latter by Parliament, is the one reform which in my humble opinion would pave the way for all others.

G. E. WARD, B.C.S. (*Ret.*).

#### PROFESSOR KARKARIA ON MR. SEWELL'S "INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH."

Mr. Sewell in his paper seems to me to set up a man of straw in order to put him down. What he says about the current belief of Indians in a former Universal Empire in this country is not borne out by facts. No one believes that there ever was such a thing in historical times. Mr. Sewell seems to me to be contradicting himself on this point. He says that the Hindus are lacking in the historic sense, and have no direct records of the past. He laments that they take no interest whatever in history, "are unaccustomed to retrospects, are by nature unused to the habit that prevails amongst educated Englishmen of comparing what *is* with what *was*." And yet he says that they *do* compare British rule with the former rule, draw inferences therefrom, and thus take interest, and a keen one, in history! He is quite right in saying that history does not bear out the theory of a former Universal Empire in India. But WHO seriously propounds such a theory on historical grounds? Our knowledge of these remote times is so very fragmentary and has been gathered at such recent date that educated Indians know very well not to dogmatise about anything in the domain of pre-Mahomedan history. Mr. Sewell, rather than these Indians, appears to be dogmatizing. He seems to be quite sure about Asoka and Vikramaditya and such other *quaestiones vexatae* of Indian archæology. Moreover, he should have been more *definite* about his charge, and have given *instances* from books by Indians. As it is, the author from whom he quotes, Mr. Shrinivas Raghavaiyangar, is of his own view about a former universal Empire in India. Mr. R. G. Bhandarkar, the great Hindu authority on this subject, is also on Mr. Sewell's side. Who then hold the view which he attacks so passionately? He ought certainly to give better instances than his anonymous "territorial Maharajah," who wrote in "The Asiatic Quarterly Review."

Historically, *no* Hindu thinks that there was such a thing as a Universal Empire in India. From his Ramayana and Mahabharata he may learn such a thing in a certain sense. The educated Hindu knows very well that these poems deal with legends. He reads them and believes them in the sense in which readers of Homer believe the Trojan war. With the great bulk of the Hindu people these epics and their contents *are matters of religion, not literature*, and they believe in them, as devout Christians, for instance, believe in the history of the Old Testament. But how does this affect their opinion of British rule? They believe that the age of those epics was the ideal golden age when gods came down to earth and lived among men. It does not strike them to compare our times with those for any useful purpose. Certainly, they are not so foolish as to demand from the present rulers that they should bring back the golden age. If they do compare, well, they will only say that British rule is not so good as that of Rama, that is British rule is not *divine*, for Rama

was a god. But how does this affect British rule? Does Mr. Sewell want us to believe that the Hindus think that British rule stands between them and the rule of Rama; that the latter would come if only the former gave way? *The futility of this whole inquiry is manifest. Mr. Sewell starts from a false assumption altogether.*

A more serious fault I have to find with Mr. Sewell's lecture is what I may call its *political use of history*. A cry is now raised against teaching history to Indians. Mr. Sewell wants to teach history *with a purpose*. Will it not then give rise to the idea that history is wanted to be taught if it tells for British rule, and is desired to be suppressed if it tells against it? It would be best for all if *history were not degraded to any political or party purposes. Let truth be the object of historical research*, and truth can do no harm to anyone. British rule has nothing to fear from history, even though it bring to light some doubtful episodes and transactions. Every nation has such in its career, and the British have certainly the fewest.

Malabar Hill, Bombay, 20th Nov., 1897.

R. P. KARKARIA.

#### AN OLD STATESMAN ON INDIAN DEFENCE.

"From my understanding of the first two Afghan wars I imbibed some very clear convictions to the following effect: that we are in no danger whatever from a foreign invader if we have a contented people behind us; that soldiers are always (with some bright exceptions) thinking of the military position on the hypothesis that somebody is coming to attack them to-morrow, and are always wanting to make themselves impregnable by seizing some post in front; that to meet a mere possibility of slight danger, they incur an actual grave one, even in a pure military sense, by stirring up enemies all around them: that our base is, first the rich settled parts of India, whence we draw our resources, and behind that, the sea: that the further we go from these bases into countries which yield no resources, the weaker we are: that after all, our problem is not a military but a political one of the very broadest kind, on which soldiers are apt to be bad advisers: that to subjugate a neighbour because otherwise somebody else may do it, is an immoral act such as wise statesmen avoid as being sure to provoke the normal consequences of such acts: that India is overtaxed, and thereby made more helpless to resist visitations such as famine and pestilence: that this overtaxation produces dangerous irritation: and that it is mainly due to our aggressive military policy. My conclusion was that in order to meet an imaginary danger we are incurring a real danger of the first magnitude, and that unless we abandon the guidance of soldiers for that of statesmen, and the policy of aggrandisement for that of quiet internal government, we shall incur the fate that sooner or later, and usually soon, overtakes military empires with large foreign conquests. Subsequent events have gone not to weaken but to strengthen these convictions. But, alas, England, like the rest of Europe, is in a backwater of reaction towards military and absolutist ideals. The Jingos have it their own way all along the line. No Viceroy of India since Lord Northbrook has been strong enough to withstand them; and it now seems that no Chancellor of the Exchequer is strong enough to do so.



And so they are leading us, in India quickly, and here sensibly, along the high road to ruin. The bulk of our electorate are absorbed in their personal interests of wages and time. If they ever think of such a remote subject as national politics or economics, it is to approve more or less strongly of lavish expenditure, which, as they think, enriches some of their own class, not seeing that they themselves provide the funds. All the lessons learned in the first half of this century appear to be forgotten, or unknown to the late depositories of power, and will have to be learned over again, probably under the pressure of some great disaster. X."

#### FRONTIER AFFAIRS.

However strongly the aggressions of the Banker or Banya on the land within our old frontier may be causing general discontent among our own subjects, there can be no doubt that the recent risings of the tribes are considered by Indian Muhammadans to be, what they really are, mainly patriotic strivings to resist the destruction of their independence. The impression caused by the Amir's book on Jihád (of which even the Panjab Government could not procure a copy), the preaching of some of the Mullahs, though checked by that of others, and the belief that we are bullying Islám all over the world, may also be considered by them to be contributory elements, but the "frontier flame" has been caused and fanned by the execution of the Durand agreement, and the encroachments of the Swat road, the Tochi *coup manqué* and other aggressions, showing that we meant to stop in spite of our pledge to leave. Then came the slaughter of those Swatis who had begged us, we said, to annex their country and so forth. Sir R. Udny's weakness in abandoning the Khyber, and the inaction after the Shabkadr raid, induced Orakzais and Afridis to rise almost *en masse*; yet the only wise policy is to concentrate our strength on the best line of communication with Kabul, and that is the Khyber, all other side-routes being negligible quantities.

The controversy about the *intended* breach of faith with the tribes by the Viceroy of India, which one political party launches against the other, is as irrelevant as would be the accusation between one gentleman and another of an *intended* crime. It was *after* the Liberals left power that the breach was committed, and the Conservative Ministry might then have blamed Lord Elgin, but they did not, for neither they, nor the Liberals, in point of fact, *can* govern India. Indeed, it was under the Liberals that the *fons et origo malorum*, the Durand Treaty, including the *coup monté* of "always out of the way" Chitral was created, and it was to the Conservatives that the grateful task of carrying out the consequences of these great mistakes was committed.

We draw attention to a learned paper by the eminent civilian, Mr. L. C. Tupper, on "Early Institutions and Panjab Tribal Law," which we have inserted under "Asia," as a subject of current interest, although its philosophical character entitles it more to the heading of "General," which we assign to literary contributions of less actuality, but of more permanent interest, than those of the day.\* We have, however, received

\* This paper has since been read at the "*East India Association*."—Ed.

information from various parts of the Panjab, bordering on the territories of the hitherto independent Frontier tribes, which shows the necessity of keeping landed property in the hands of our own military tribes, and of not allowing it to fall into the grasp of the money-lenders. Let us also extend the law of pre-emption, so that the land may remain in the possession of the Zamindars, or hereditary landowners, who can fight for us. Our object then being the same as that of the Panjab Customary Law we should legislate to consolidate it indirectly, as suggested by Mr. Tupper. At any rate, we should prevent the Zamindars being ousted by the Banya. Our present system, so beneficial to usurers advancing money on the land of thoughtless owners, is causing expropriations and with them much discontent in a class that is of political importance. A "no-rent" league has been advocated in order to bring about the desired reforms, but we prefer the course of legislation advocated by Mr. Tupper.

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The able Sinologist, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, who has rendered services to our Government and to Buddhist law in Burma, and whose papers in this Review have been appreciated by scholars, has now sent us an article on "Western Education in China," which seems to us to represent the views of thoughtful, but perhaps too europeanised, natives, whose object is to excite the sympathy and interest of the "Western world" on behalf of China, in her present plight. In former times, the people had their remedy in rebellion, but, at the present day, no rebellion will be permitted by the European Powers, lest commerce should be disturbed. It, therefore, seems to our esteemed contributor, that "it is hardly fair for Europe not to allow the people to resort to drastic measures, and, at the same time, to stand by and look on China crumbling away by dry-rot. China's present condition is very pitiable, and unless some outside power comes to the rescue, her future will be a most gloomy one." We think with Mr. Taw Sein Ko, that England should be the rescuing power, as she has the largest stake in China, and can command money and intelligent and sympathetic advisers, whose co-operation will help China to emulate Japan, whilst preserving what is good in her ancient civilization.

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#### THE "GRADED SYSTEM" IN INDIAN FILIAL PIETY.

We have received an application from a worthy old letter-writer at the Charing Cross Hotel at Lahore, one Kerim Chand, whose son, Harnam Das, is employed in the office of the N. W. Railway Examiner of Accounts. It appears that the young man allowed his father Rs. 10 per month as long as he had received no promotion; then when the son rose in his "grade" in railway employ he degraded his father to Rs. 8, then to Rs. 5, with a promise to "grade" him, in future, from Rs. 6 to 8. This promise he does not appear to have kept, and the father, who has a wife and three children dependent on him, turns to us in his despair. If his story be true, as we believe, we trust that Mr. Connolly, the Railway Examiner, may make an appeal to his employé's feelings of official propriety as well as of filial piety and, perhaps, explain to him that putting his father on "the graded system" is not giving him *less*, but *more* than

before, as time goes on. In the meanwhile, we see in this curious misuse of an official term the demoralizing effect of the phraseology of a foreign language on the anglicized native mind. A genuine native, not affected by foreign influence, gives his all to his father and to "the joint family"; this anglicized one makes plausible excuses for spending everything on himself and, under the use of English words, misconceives their real meaning. Let Harnam Das consult his dictionary, his superior and the Decalogue. The latter, like his own Shastras, will tell him to honour his father. To have recourse to an official regulation, inapplicable to his filial relation, in order to avoid his obligations, is only to render himself contemptible to alike Europeans and "natives."

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET.

This interesting subject has again been brought to the notice of scholars in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. All the alphabets in the world can be traced back to the same seed-plot. Pictorial forms of writing were invented, and used, by the elder world, but at a certain period, not yet absolutely fixed, and in a particular country, not yet identified to the satisfaction of all, the idea of alphabetic symbols was evolved, and developed: all are not agreed as to the form of pictorial writings, from which the alphabetical symbols were evolved. Some attribute the origin of these symbols to the Egyptian ideograms, and some to the Cuneiform syllabaries.

On one thing there is a consensus, that the alphabet of India, in all its numerous varieties and its unparalleled development, sprang from the same germ as the alphabet of Western Asia, by whatever name known. The Moabite Stone is the earliest monument in this alphabetic character, and the allusion in this inscription to Ahab, king of Israel, assigns to it a date of the 8th century B.C., while the elaborate forms of the letters indicate a usage of a considerable anterior period.

Unfortunately a theological bias has been imported into a purely scientific subject. The student of archæology can only look upon facts as they are: one of the positions firmly laid down in the Essay now alluded to is that, whatever power Moses had, and at whatever date, of writing Egyptian ideograms or Cuneiform syllabics, it is not proved that he could write alphabetically; this raises a difficulty as regards the two tables of stone and the copious writings on skins, papyrus, or parchment, which are attributed to him, under the name of the Pentateuch, as written or dictated by him many centuries anterior to the Moabite Stone. Another difficult question has been imported into the controversy by Prof. Sayce in his valuable work, "*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*," as to certain Arabian alphabetic inscriptions of a much earlier date. The scholars of the twentieth century must dispose of this matter; at present more light and more time are asked for.

So far as regards Western Asia, the environment of the Indian alphabet is darkened by a different kind of difficulty. Of course, the Hindu attributes the origin of the alphabet most largely used in his country to Brahma, the great Creator, and calls it "*Brahma Lipi*"; while there is some hesita-

tion in combating Jewish legends as regards the writings of Moses in a prehistoric period, no mercy is shown to Hindu legends, and the date of the introduction of the alphabetic writing into India is placed by some as late as the time of Alexander the Great, and by others is attributed to a period contemporary with the Moabite Stone. It so happens that a distinguished French scholar, M. Halevy, leads the first army, and an illustrious Indian archæologist, Hofrath Bühler of Vienna, leads the second army. As is well known, the literature of the Hindu and the Buddhist is exceedingly voluminous and important. It is possible that the earlier portions were transmitted orally for many generations, as the faculty of memory in the East, where the mind is occupied on one subject only, far transcends the faculty of memory in occidental countries. Notoriously to this day the whole Koran, a prose work, is committed to memory as a kind of feat, and those whose task is to edit early Hindu works find it prudent in doubtful passages to consult learned Pandits, who can repeat the text orally as they received it from their forefathers.

Up to this time it is an open question at what date the Hindu first made use of an alphabet: it is pretty well admitted that the natives of India never went through the stage of pictorial ideograms before they arrived at an alphabet. In the South of India ample material was forthcoming for receiving any form of writing in the Talipat leaf; but in the North of India there was no such material available, till Art supplied the deficiency by manufactured substances. The magnificent inscriptions of King Asoka on rocks and pillars and in caves place the latest possible date in the third century before the Christian era, which is admitted by all, and the perfection of the symbolic forms indicates a usage of some time. Thus M. Halevy stands on firm ground, but perhaps a usage of two centuries earlier in the time of the occupation of Asia by the Persian dynasty of the Achaemenidas which preceded Alexander the Great, might be allowed. The great inscriptions of Darius (who was defeated at Marathon 490 B.C.) at Behistun are in the Cuneiform character, and his son Xerxes, who was defeated at Salamis 480 B.C., in the Hebrew Book of Esther is described (cap. viii., l. 9) as sending his orders to the provinces under his rule "from India to Ethiopia unto every province according to the writing thereof," and to the Jews according to their writing. This looks very much as if the people of India had a special form of writing in his time; however, all these details will gradually be worked out. It cannot be pretended that we have heard the last word as to:

- (1) The country and form of pictorial writing from which the alphabet was evolved.
- (2) The date at which this important forward step was taken.
- (3) The route by which it found its way to India.
- (4) The earliest date at which a Hindu committed alphabetic symbols to a material prepared to receive them.

R. N. C.

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The ninth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography will take place at Madrid during Easter week, *i.e.*, between the 10th and the 17th of April, 1898, under the patronage of H.M. King Alfonso XIII. and

H.M. the Queen-Regent. The Secretaries of the Executive Committee are Dr. Amalio Gimeno, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine of Madrid, Senator and member of the Royal Academy of Medicine, etc., who is also Secretary-General ; Dr. Jose Grinda, Auxiliary Professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Madrid, etc. ; Dr. Juan Veranes, Sub-Delegate of Medicine, and Dr. José Barber, Physician of the Royal Navy. The Committee express the hope that every man of science who gives peculiar attention to Hygiene and Demography will honour their invitation to be present.

We understand that the International Law Association, which had already resolved to hold its next conference (in 1898) in the United States, has received a communication from the American Bar Association, expressing a hope that it will find it convenient to meet at the same place, and during the week, of that Association's annual session. The American Bar Association has also passed a resolution that in the event of such an arrangement being made their Secretary be directed to invite the International Law Association to be their guests at their annual dinner in 1898. Such kind offers of welcome and hospitality from so distinguished a body have no doubt met with a cordial response. We trust that among the many topics of interest which may be discussed formally or informally at so notable a gathering of legal talent, Professor Dicey's able and ingenious suggestion for the establishment of a common citizenship, published in the "Contemporary Review" for April last, will not be lost sight of.

The fourth centenary of Vasco de Gama's discovery of the sea route to India will be celebrated with due honour and great rejoicings throughout Portugal from the 17th to the 20th of May inclusive, in the coming year of 1898. The beautiful harbour of Oporto will then, it is hoped, witness an unique assemblage of ships, representing the maritime power of all nations, in honour of the great Admiral. A magnificent cup of Portuguese workmanship, in the style of the 16th century, will be offered as a prize, in an International Regatta. Three Congresses will be held at Lisbon, the International Peace Congress, the Congress of the Press, and the Inter-Parliamentary Conference of Peace and Arbitration. The general arrangement of the festivities has been entrusted to a Central Executive Committee, who hold their sittings in the Buildings of the Geographical Society of Lisbon. The President and Secretaries of that Society are the President and Secretaries of the Committee.

We understand that Sir M. Monier-Williams is busily engaged upon his Sanskrit Dictionary, which, it is hoped, will appear in the course of this year, and which will be not so much a new edition as a completely new work.

We are disappointed with the defective, if not, sometimes, misleading translations, especially those into Arabic and Hindustani, of the third verse of our NATIONAL ANTHEM which Mr. H. Anthony Salmone has brought out in fifty languages with the aid of 49 coadjutors (he himself taking Arabic) as "The Imperial Souvenir" for Christmas 1897. The Persian translation of the verse by Sir F. Goldsmid seems to be the best in this publication. We propose to examine the "Souvenir" in an early issue.

To the courtesy of the French Colonial Office we are indebted for a copy of the "*Carte de la Boucle du Niger*" by Lt. Spicq, a very large, detailed and well-edited Map of the country between the Niger and the Guinea Coast of Africa, based upon the latest information, and accompanied by an alphabetical Index of places. The Map and Index are published by Henri Barrère, Editeur Géographe, 4, Rue du Bac, Paris.

### In Memoriam.

#### THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF THE LATE DR. JAMES LEGGE.

DR. JAMES LEGGE (M.A., Aberdeen, 1835; D.D., New York, 1842; LL.D., Aberdeen, 1870; M.A., Oxford, 1876; LL.D., Edinburgh, 1884) died at his residence, 3, Keble Road, Oxford, on the 29th of November last. Dr. Legge was born in 1815 at Huntly, Aberdeen, a place which has sent at least half a dozen capable men to China. He was educated first at Huntly, and then at the Old and New Grammar Schools, Aberdeen; graduated at King's College, Aberdeen, and afterwards went to London, where he studied theology at the Highbury College, and took a fancy for the study of Chinese. In 1839 it was his intention to proceed to China, but, like St. Francis Xavier, he had to stop short for a time at Malacca, where in 1840 he took over charge of Morrison's Anglo-Chinese Seminary (Morrison had died in 1834). After our first war with China he transferred his pupils to the new colony of Hong Kong. There he founded the London Missionary Society's Preparatory College (*Ying-hwa Shu-yüan*), and remained, with short intervals of furlough, until 1873: a nephew of his lived with him, and, after Dr. Legge's departure, continued business as a broker in Hong Kong up to his death in 1893. Dr. Legge had already at Malacca translated several tracts into Chinese, and it was there that he conceived his great idea of rendering its "Classics" into English; this literary work was done in his leisure hours, for during his thirty years' Hong Kong residence he regularly conducted the services at the Congregational Church. His first serious work on the *Chinese Notions concerning God* appeared in 1852. He published the *Four Shu* in 1861, and three of the *Five King* in 1865, 1871, and 1872. In 1875 a metrical version of the *Book of Odes* appeared, and, as the late Mr. A. Lister, a humorous but friendly Hong Kong critic then put it, created almost as much surprise as did the apparition of Saul amongst the prophets; for Dr. Legge was not then known to possess bardic talent. In 1875 the *Académie des Belles Lettres* awarded the Julien prize to Dr. Legge. The fourth of the *King* appeared in 1882, and his appointed task was only just completed when he died. When he retired from China in 1873 a movement was made to secure his services as a Professor at home, and in 1875 a Chinese Chair was founded at Oxford: Corpus Christi College gave him a Fellowship. Here he worked with extraordinary industry until his death. In 1880 he published his four London lectures on Taoism, Confucianism, and Ancestor Worship under the title of *The Religions of China*, and in 1886 his *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, which is the only trustworthy English translation of Fa Hien's travels.

Dr. Legge, the "Nestor of Sinologues" as he has often been called, was distinctly the first of the *Di majores* of Sinology. With "*le regretté* Wylie," as even the Jesuits affectionately style him, he shared the unique distinction of compelling universal reverence and respect, and he may be said to have never made a literary enemy. His opinion on the authenticity of the Nestorian Stone, joined with that of Wylie, is implicitly accepted by the Catholics, whose only vestige of complaint against Dr. Legge is that he is too considerate and courteous to rash and presumptuous critics. Dr. Legge was perfectly aware that there was a great deal of quackery in Sinology, and in private conversation would often crack a humorous joke at the expense of the impostors; but he never wrote a harsh word or intentionally hurt any man's feelings. In short, he was a gentleman to the core in his literary instinct. He made no mystery of his craft, and was far from keeping his knowledge to himself so that he might astonish the world with surprises: he was equally ready to help any applicant, to lend books, correct translations, and, generally, to put his shoulder to the wheel for others in the most unobtrusive way. His work was thoroughly conscientious and sound from first to last. As he put it, his principle had always been to read what the native commentators said, and translate it: he had never found them wanting. He rightly judged that their literary instinct must be truer than ours, and that it was absurd for Europeans to alter texts or to force translations of their own. In 1884 a foolish attack was made upon him by a brilliant, but inaccurate, Orientalist now deceased, and even the *Saturday Review* was induced to countenance the absurdity: but Dr. Legge soon found defenders, and, so far as any action of his own was concerned, simply laughed at the incident in his good-natured way. There is no occasion to credit Dr. Legge with more knowledge than he possessed: he was the last man to wish it. In any case, he *is* a giant, and requires no cubit to artificially increase his stature. At the time he went to China, the true theory of the Chinese spoken language was unknown, and consequently Dr. Legge's accurate knowledge in that department was confined to Cantonese, of which he was not an exceptionally fluent speaker. His *forte* was essentially the "Classics," which may be roughly said to bear the same relation to historical and official literature that Josephus does to Dante, Ariosto, and the Italian official newspapers. In that department he was *facile princeps*, and no one can be mentioned in the same breath with him except perhaps Father Zottoli, S.J. He occasionally contributed to this *Review*. There is an excellent portrait of Dr. Legge, as he appeared about twenty years ago, in one of the illustrated papers of the 4th of December. As a personal friend Dr. Legge, as might be expected, was loyal, open-hearted, and true: in religious matters he was broad-minded, tolerant, charitable to stumblers, and utterly free from sanctimoniousness. In short, James Legge was a stout, warm-hearted, hard-headed, industrious Scotchman of the highest type, of whom Scotland may well be proud, who was an honour to Oxford, and whose learning has placed the Oriental scholarship of Great Britain in the front-rank of Sinology.

E. H. PARKER.

THE LATE MR. JAMES EASTOE TEALL.

The death of Mr. Teall on the 9th November, 1897, in his 41st year of life, of which he had spent 22 in the service of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, deprives that body and, indeed, the philanthropic world generally, of one of its most sincere and devoted workers. He was the soul of honesty and opposed to all hypocrisy or cant. Single-minded and indefatigable in his public as well as private duties, he ever eagerly took up the cause of the oppressed in whatever form. His reading was very extensive and, *inter alia*, embraced every book of any value that could throw light even on remote side-issues of the countries to which the attention of his society was directed. He was a very accomplished man, of many-sided information, and even possessed a very fair knowledge of Arabic, as also a general insight into Oriental studies. Ever kind, to those natives of the East, and especially of Africa, who desired his advice or his help, he was a true friend, the most genial of companions, and a most loyal assistant to the NESTOR OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, its able veteran guide, Mr. C. H. Allen. *Requiescat in pace.* He will ever live, as an example, in the memory of all who knew him. We extract a passage from an appreciative obituary in "The Anti-Slavery Reporter," which gives further details of that well-filled, though much too short, life: "Under the guidance of the late eminent Abolitionist, Mr. Edmund Sturge, he acquired a knowledge of the history of the abolition movement, from its earliest commencement up to the present time, which may be considered almost unrivalled. Mr. Teall was born in Jamaica in 1856, his father, the Rev. William Teall, being a Baptist missionary, whilst on the mother's side he was related to Sir George Phillipps, Chief Justice of Hong Kong. It was probably owing to his intimate acquaintance with negro life in his early years that he took so great an interest in the welfare of the African race."



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

## TRANSLATIONS FROM THE "JĀTAKĀ."

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1. *The Jātaka, translated from the Pali by various hands*, edited by PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL. Vol. III. translated by H. T. FRANCIS and R. A. NEIL.

This volume of the Cambridge translation contains 138 stories corresponding to the third volume of the Pali text. Although we are being considerably overdosed with Buddhism in these days, fresh instalments of the birth-stories are always welcome because they belong not to the somewhat dreary subject of Buddhist theology (or ought not one rather to write "atheology"?) but to the more fascinating one of folk-lore, which any reader may be interested in without committing himself to the study of the religion. It has often been pointed out that in these stories we frequently come upon rather primitive and simple forms of the nursery tales and legends of Europe. In the present volume there are many such, though of course all the stories in so large a collection cannot be equally interesting. Many of them in fact are extremely pointless, merely showing how the Buddha or some one else did in a former state of existence the same thing as he does in the present. Others again are wanting even in so much of point as this, and with the love of monotonous repetition so characteristic of all Buddhist writings, seem merely to state over again some fact that has already been stated in the introduction to the tale.

A second source of interest will be found in the light which these stories throw on life in ancient India. Men and women of every class in society are the heroes and heroines of the tales. Village life, town life, the life of the ascetic in the forest, are all here depicted with bold vivid touches; so that from the Jātakas alone a very clear idea of the condition of existence in those far-off times might easily be put together. It would also be useful if some one would collect and explain all the geographical and historical facts and allusions in the tales. Lassen has done something in this direction, but the wealth of materials rendered accessible to European students since his time is so great, that the work now requires to be done over again, and done far more fully than even that eminent scholar was able to do it. Not only are numerous kings and kingdoms mentioned, but the attitude of Buddha towards rival religions is curiously illustrated, as for instance in story No. 314, where a king being frightened by hearing cries in the night is about to have sacrifices on an immense scale performed by Brahmins to avert the supposed evil omen. Buddha interferes to save the lives of so many creatures and defeats the purpose of the Brahmins. In this story the translator has very ingeniously reproduced the four cries heard by the king in the first words of each English couplet.

In story No. 339 there is confirmation of the view held by several modern scholars that Jainism is older than Buddhism, and an independent school of thought not, as used once to be supposed, merely an offshoot

thereof. Buddha in the epilogue clearly states that Nathaputta (*i.e.* Jnatiputra or Mahavira the founder of the Jain sect) preceded himself as a teacher.

Story No. 436 relating how an Asura kept his wife in a box, which he swallowed and retained in his belly, and how even in that position she contrived to be unfaithful to him, is evidently the original of the opening story in the Arabian Nights. No. 386 about the king who understood the language of animals is similarly the original of the second story in the same collection.

But it would fill a large volume to trace the passage of these stories throughout the ages and in many climes; and the task has already been partially performed, as is shown in the foot-notes to the present work. It may incidentally be remarked that it is to be regretted that much more in the way of notes of various kinds has not been given. Admirably lucid and fluent as the translations are, the work cannot be rendered thoroughly useful to the European reader without copious notes of many kinds. The extreme parsimony in this respect is almost the only fault one can find with this interesting volume.

J. B.

#### VOL. IV. OF THE NEW "OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY."

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD; LONDON; EDINBURGH; NEW YORK.

2. *A new English Dictionary on Historical principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society.* Edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. We have been favoured by the Clarendon Press with the last fasciculus of the Oxford English Dictionary containing the entries between "Foisty" and "Frankish." It will startle some of our readers to learn that the number of main words in the English language, occurring in alphabetical order between such apparently near neighbours as FOI and FRA, is no less than 2,079; while the thoroughness with which the Editors are dealing with the task they have set themselves may be gathered from the fact that no less than 17,616 quotations—an average of eight to each word—are given in illustration of the meanings.

A large number of the words are practically obsolete at the present day, but it is never certain whether such words may not be revived when a special occasion demands a specially expressive term. No one would now use the word "forfex" for a pair of scissors, except in humorous reminiscence of the passage in Pope's "Rape of the Lock." But the term "forficate," shaped like a pair of scissors, as well as "forficate" and "forfication" are employed in the latest publications of the day as scientific terms of description in natural history. On the other hand words which seem old are found to be of modern invention. The pedantic use of "Foreword" instead of "Preface" appears to date no further back than 1842.

The creation of some words seems due to the mere haste or carelessness of a popular writer. The word "Forbidding" was in use as a substantive noun (with the sense of prohibition) from 1300 to 1740, and was used by Milton in his "Paradise Lost." A duplicate term "forbiddance" was in

use in 1608, and is still current. To the first Lord Lytton alone, it seems that, we owe a third word with the same meaning, viz., "forbiddal."

The confusion which often arises from the similar sound of dissimilar words is exemplified in the history of the phrase "a forlorn hope." The word "hope" in this phrase originally meant a "band" or "hoop," but a band not in the sense of that which binds materially, but of that which is bound together ideally, namely, a troop or company of soldiers. A "forlorn hope" was a picked body of men detached to the front to begin the battle, and the phrase was used as a technical term in strategy so early as 1579. But already in 1641 "hope," meaning company, had become confused with the word "hope" denoting that emotion "which springs eternal in the human breast," and since "a forlorn hope" in that sense meant a hope left to the last, the phrase was occasionally employed even technically to describe the rearguard, while in metaphorical language it came to mean a desperate adventure. The British sailor, with his ready wit and instinctive dislike for words that do not ring true and clear, has converted the phrase into "the flowing hope."

More than four pages of three columns each are devoted to the important monosyllable "for." The various meanings of this word as a preposition are arranged under ten principal heads, of which one only is obsolete, having lasted however to the time of Shakspeare. It is curious to observe in how many phrases of the present day it preserves the same meanings as it had many centuries ago. For instance, its sense in the phrase "to fight for," meaning *in defence of*, dates from A.D. 1000; in the phrase "to run for his life" from 1250; in the phrase "to take for granted" from 1175. Its use as a conjunction, which dates only from the beginning of the 13th century, is explained as probably due either to an extension of the functions of a preposition to the following sentence, or as an ellipsis, the place of the conjunction having been originally supplied by the preposition and a demonstrative pronoun.

Words which are not English are included in the Dictionary, if they have been employed by any notable English or American author. Thus the word "Fonduk," otherwise spelt "Fondak" and "Funduck," meaning "an Inn," finds a place from its being used in books descriptive of Northern Africa; as well as "Fondaco" which is an Italian variant of the same word, and also the Spanish "Fonda," which has come round to us from its use in America. The word represents the Arabic فندق (*fandaq*), which itself is believed to have been borrowed from the Greek name for an inn, πανδοκεῖον. The curious word "Fomalhaut," the Arabic فم الحوت (*famu-l-hūt*, lit. mouth of the fish—the name of a star in the constellation *Piscis Australis*)—is supported by a quotation from Browning. It was known to more ancient writers as "Fomahant," having come to them apparently through the Spanish.

There is not a page of the volume which is not full of lore of the most interesting description. The strictly historical method which has been adopted in the explanation of words, and the great pains bestowed upon the verification of their meanings by quotations are calculated to discipline as well as to inform the minds of students.

A work of such magnificent proportions may perhaps not find access to many private houses except those of the rich; but it should be the most coveted possession of all *public* libraries in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, and at least at the headquarters of every district in India, and at her principal Colleges. It is not so much a Dictionary as a History of English speech and thought from its infancy to the present day. W.

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CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON.

3. *England and India. A Record of progress during a hundred years, —1785-1885*, by ROMESH C. DUTT, I.C.S., C.I.E. The author traces, in a succinct and clear manner, the various reforms in the administration of India, under the Company and the Crown. He divides the work under the administrations at home in the times of Pitt and Wellington,—Canning and Grey,—Peel and Palmerston,—Disraeli and Gladstone. He shows that the various reforms in England during those periods had a reflex influence on Indian administration. He asks thoughtful men to enquire as to the causes of the destructive famines which have taken place in India, with its fertile soil and industrious population, during the forty years of its administration by the Crown; and contends that the continued recurrence of these famines presses for a strict and impartial enquiry, more particularly as the expenditure of administration has increased enormously, and consequently taxation and other burdens have proportionately become heavier. He argues that such an enquiry would show that the “continuous increase of State-demand from the produce of the soil, which is virtually the only means of subsistence for the mass of the people, is making them incapable of saving in good years, and resourceless in bad years”: and that the Imperial policy to secure a “scientific frontier” against Russia, at the cost of India, is exhausting the riches and fertility of the country. The writer suggests various reforms with respect to the protection of native industries, the cultivation of the soil, the limit of taxation on its produce, the tenure of land by the cultivator, encouragements for improvements, and a more extensive representation of the native population in the administration of local and imperial affairs. The indebtedness of India in 1857, before the Mutiny, was £51,000,000—after the Mutiny it was £97,000,000—and after thirty years it was nearly £200,000,000,—one half in England,—the other in India. To these figures the author earnestly solicits the immediate and serious attention of statesmen both at home and in India.

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CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY; NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON.

4. *Hinduism*, by SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.I.E., D.C.L.

An excellent Manual of Hinduism, covering the whole field, and tracing from its origin the various stages of its development, and its present position in India and Ceylon, and giving an account of its rites and ceremonies, its festivals, shrines and sacred writings. There is an illustrative map, and a valuable appendix, describing the distinctive features of the six schools of Hindu Philosophy, and a copious index. The work has been so highly appreciated, that it has reached its thirteenth thousand.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO. ; LONDON.

5. *Richard Baird Smith*, the leader of the Delhi heroes in 1857. No one who lived in Upper India in the early sixties can fail to remember the great estimation in which the name of Col. Baird Smith was held by all classes, and the grief which was universally expressed at his premature decease. There was a prevalent belief—how far warranted we do not know—that if he had lived he would have been selected to succeed Sir George Edmonstone as Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces ; and there is no doubt that his appointment would have been hailed with satisfaction. Death, however, forestalled whatever intention there may have been to promote to higher honours the man whose services during the Famine of 1860-61 had earned for him so enviable a reputation.

The present record of his services at the siege of Delhi is written rather to vindicate his great capacity as a military officer, than his usefulness as a civil administrator ; and it is written from the standpoint of an affectionate admirer who has perhaps too much fretted his soul at the fate which robbed his hero of worldly honours. As a contribution to the history of the siege of Delhi, the newly-published letters of Baird Smith are undoubtedly of value, but we doubt if they will place him upon a higher pinnacle than he had actually reached in the estimation of his brother officers and the Indian public generally before his death. In fact, there are a few passages in the letters to his own wife, written in the *abandon* of confidence, when a man's most secret thoughts are allowed to be shared by his life's partner, which we think should have been kept under the seal of privacy, since they tend rather towards self-glorification, a quality which the true hero rarely possesses. There are indeed many other passages in which the real character of the man is sufficiently indicated, but the anxiety of his biographer to monopolize the credit of the successful issue of the siege to the honour of a single man however eminent has given a controversial tone to the book which is to be deprecated.

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GARDNER, DARTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

6. *Muhammedanism. Has it any Future?* By the REV CHARLES H. ROBINSON, M.A., *Lecturer in Hausa in the University of Cambridge, with an introduction by the Lord Bishop of Ripon.* Mr. Robinson, after a long sojourn in Africa and the East, writes from personal observation. His purpose is not to discuss the truth or falsehood of Muhammedanism, from the Christian standpoint, but to direct attention to what extent Muhammedanism has acted as a civilizing power and as to its bearing on the industries and happiness of those under its influence in Africa and Asia. His discriminating observations will help the reader to decide for himself what are the ultimate tests of such a system of religion, as to its continuous fitness to elevate the faith and character of man. Mr. Robinson's Lectures will be read with interest by those who have seriously at heart the future welfare of the followers of Islam, whether they are under the sovereignty of the Queen Empress, or are subjects of other Potentates in the East and the South.

A. D. INNES AND CO.

7. *Inspector-General Sir James Ranald Martin*, by SURGEON-GENERAL SIR JOSEPH FAYRER, BART. It was a graceful act of Sir Joseph Fayrer to place on record a memoir of his distinguished predecessor, Sir Ranald Martin, and the volume which he has produced is an excellent sample of biography. It is not too long to be read through on a winter's evening, and yet contains all that is essential to exhibit the character of the man, and the value of his work. Though the enormous changes which the progress of the century has brought about—in India and at home—in medical science, and the practice of sanitation, remove the starting point of Martin's career into an almost unrecognisable past, the author has succeeded in making the history of bygone efforts to improve the health of the troops and of the public in India both interesting and profitable.

Like so many British pioneers of reform in India, Sir Ranald Martin was of pure Scottish ancestry. He was a native of the Island of Skye. Readers of the memoir will be astonished to discover on the very first page what an enormous debt the Empire owes to that Island. It appears (the information is so striking that we make no apology for reproducing it) that between 1812 and 1852 it furnished for the public service, 21 Lt.-Generals or Major-Generals, 45 Lt.-Colonels, 600 Majors and officers of lower rank, and 10,000 foot soldiers, besides four governors of British Colonies, one Governor-General of India, one Adjutant-General of the British Army, one Chief Baron of England, and one Judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland.

James Ranald Martin was one of a family of thirteen, of whom however only eight were living at the time of their mother's death. He was originally intended for the army, and long after his death his biographer writes of him "whilst eminent as a sanitarian and physician, he was at heart what his appearance proclaimed him to be, a soldier." The duty of making provision for his father's old age, compelled him to undertake the study of medicine as a more lucrative profession. He became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1814 in his nineteenth year, and in 1817 he obtained a commission as Assistant-Surgeon in the E.I.C.S., and sailed for India. His varying fortunes and steady progress in that country are succinctly described in the memoir. In 1840 he was compelled by ill health to leave Calcutta for England, but had already put by sufficient means to give him the option of returning to India or not. He finally elected to settle in London, where he resided till his death in 1874. Beyond this outline we have no intention to trespass upon the biography, which we cordially recommend not only to Anglo-Indians and the Medical profession, who will naturally be interested in the career of one who did so much for them, but also to the public at large.

#### ANCIENT GREEK LITERATURE.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

8. *Short Histories of the Literatures of the World*, edited by EDMUND GOSSE. No. I., *Ancient Greek Literature*, by GILBERT MURRAY, M.A.

Professor Murray is an able scholar, and his name is familiar to the

inner circle of classical students. He has now suddenly acquired notoriety in the eyes of the general reading public. Mr. Herbert Paul, in the December number of the *Nineteenth Century*, has taken the occasion of the publication of the present volume to issue a vicious diatribe against the "New Learning," making Prof. Murray his example of the appalling results of the new notions of criticism. According to Mr. Paul the chief feature of the new criticism is a vulgar familiarity, an off-hand uncere- moniousness, an attempt to drag the dread figures of the classic authors down to Ibsenian levels. Prof. Murray, if we are to believe Mr. Paul, treats the ancients with the patronising familiarity of a showman inviting country folks to look at his fat women and skeleton dandies: "He stands before the masters of Greek literature with his hands in his pockets and his hat on the back of his head"—like 'Arry in a picture-gallery.

It cannot be denied that some of this criticism is deserved, and that Professor Murray has given "an handle to his adversaries." He often lapses into slang or colloquialism, his strivings after the jocular are frequently forced and poor; he has an irritating off-hand way of settling doubtful points—usually by a dogmatic "of course." Thus Lycurgus the Spartan is "of course" a fixed saga-figure, and the names of the so-called cyclic poets are of course mere punning titles referring to the subject-matter of the various epics. This last method of eliminating personalities of whom little positive is known he is inclined to apply even to such comparative moderns as Acusilaus and Pherecydes. One can hardly help calling to mind Mr. Andrew Lang's proof of the purely mythical character of Mr. Gladstone, whom some people believe to have actually existed. With similar curtness our author decides that the ordinary stories of the foreign birth of Tyrtæus and Alcman are only inventions of Athenian jealousy, unwilling to credit Sparta with the capacity of producing a native-born poet.

But admitting all this, we are still a long way from agreeing with Mr. Paul's verdict. Mr. Paul, too, has his own form of new criticism, which consists mainly of picking out stray sentences from their contexts and so fitting them into an appropriate context of his own fashioning, that whatever slipshodness or cheapness there is in the expression is intensified, and whatever judgment is expressed, is made ludicrous. He would persuade us that Prof. Murray's final judgment on Thucydides is summed up in the phrase "an absolute hodge-podge of ungrammatical and unnatural language." Our author's real offence is to state, in discussing the present state of Thucydides' text, that one comes across many passages which are "an absolute hodge-podge," etc.: a very different matter. Taken as a whole Prof. Murray's appreciation of Thucydides, both as historian and as stylist, is fair and sympathetic—if Mr. Paul had wanted an object for his indignant citation of Macaulay he would have found a more deserving one in Prof. Mahaffy, who really does show an aggressive contempt for Macaulay's favourite. As an instance of Prof. Murray's patronising attitude our critic quotes him as saying, "We may make allowances for Plato." The actual context contains the ingenious and surely not disrespectful argument that the charm of poetry was such to Plato's imaginative

nature, that he tended to exaggerate the dangerous character of its influence on ordinary men—it is this fact that we are to allow for, and not as Mr. Paul leaves us to imagine Plato's general lack of common-sense. It would be easy to multiply instances of this sort of unfair perversion of criticism.

Prof. Murray's literary disquisitions are interesting and usually fair: those on Herodotus, Thucydides, Æschylus, are among his best. Nor does he confine himself, *pace* Mr. Paul, entirely to writing slang. The description of Hector's flight from Achilles, of the motives that inspired the history of Thucydides, the vindication of Socrates' accusers, show some command of the higher gifts of style.

But though Prof. Murray does not deserve all Mr. Paul's strictures, we may yet doubt whether he has not made a mistake in writing the present volume as it stands. It does not look as if it would fit at all well into Mr. Gosse's scheme for a series of national literatures. It is written above the heads of all but a few. It pre-supposes a fair knowledge of the classics and of the ordinary views on disputed points, and abounds in little allusions to passages or anecdotes quite beyond the ken of the uninitiated. To the professed classical student, on the other hand, the historical arrangement is distasteful, and a reader would prefer Prof. Murray to expand his interesting views on the Homeric question, or on Herodotus, into longer essays, and to leave out a great deal of what appear to be mere lecture notes where the subject has evidently interested the author less profoundly.

A.

9. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*, translated by GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL. There is probably no form of poetry of which it would be more difficult to produce a successful imitation in the English language than the Persian ghazal. The English language affords very few facilities for rhyme, and hardly any for the repetition of the same words in different senses as a refrain. In the ghazal the rhyme—usually accompanied by a refrain which follows the rhyming syllable—is a cardinal feature of the poem. Although each distich or couplet must contain its own thought, and be complete in itself, the rhyme, which is announced in *both* lines of the first couplet, must be repeated in the second line of every other couplet. The rhyme is in fact the sole link that exists between the various couplets, and since every ghazal contains from eight to fifteen or more of these, no little ingenuity is required, even in a language which lends itself to rhyme, to meet the exigencies of this peculiar form of composition. There have been numerous attempts by Persian scholars to translate the poems of Hafiz into English, but although they have resulted in the production of some pretty English verses, there are none which really convey a true idea of the original.

The translations in the present volume are quite as good as any we have hitherto seen, and the author must be congratulated upon having had the courage to undertake so formidable a task.

We quote the following three stanzas from her translation of an ode which is believed to have been composed by Hafiz after the death of his wife:



"My lady, that did change this house of mine  
 Into a heaven when that she dwelt therein,  
 From head to foot an angel's face divine  
 Enwrapped her ; pure she was, spotless of sin ;  
 Fair as the moon her countenance, and wise ;  
 Lords of the kind and tender glance, her eyes  
 With an abounding loveliness did shine.

"Then said my heart : here will I take my rest !  
 This city breathes her love in every part.  
 But to a distant bourne was she addressed,  
 Alas ! he knew it not, alas, poor heart !  
 The influence of some cold malignant star  
 Has loosed my hand that held her, lone and far  
 She journeyeth that lay upon my breast.

"Not only did she lift my bosom's veil,  
 Reveal its inmost secret, but her grace  
 Drew back the curtain from Heaven's mansions pale,  
 And gave her there an eternal dwelling-place.  
 The flower-strewn river lip and meadows fair,  
 The rose herself but fleeting treasures were  
 Regret and Winter follow in their trail."

It would be a convenience to readers if in a second edition the author would head each translation with the first line of the original. Without this aid it is difficult to refer to the Persian text, more especially as the poems selected for translation are not placed in their original order. Of the rhythms which the author has adopted, we greatly prefer the ten syllabled iambic measure to the occasional anapaestic metres. The form of verse most appropriate to the ghazal is perhaps that adapted in translations IV. and XII. :

"Sleep on thine eyes, bright as narcissus flowers,  
 Falls not in vain !  
 And not in vain thy hair's soft radiance showers,  
 Ah, not in vain !"

The book is extremely well printed and forms an elegant volume. The prefatory introduction shows much thoughtful study of Oriental sentiment, and is the more interesting as coming from a lady.

#### "A HISTORY OF CHINA."

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, AND Co. ; LONDON, 1897.

10. *A History of China, from the earliest days down to the present*, by REV. J. MACGOWAN, London Missionary Society.

The author of this valuable history, who has lived over thirty years in China, states in his preface that it is "a reproduction, from the original, of the Standard History of China," that work and the writings of Confucius and Mencius being the only authentic sources from whence the story of the Empire can possibly be obtained.

The book is divided into the mythical, legendary, semi-historical and historical periods. The earliest mythical personage is Pan-Ku, who lives to-day in the popular mind as the person who first gave the heavens and the earth the shape they now possess. The two most conspicuous names of the legendary period are Yau and Shun, whose fame is due to their

having been adopted by Confucius and his disciple Mencius as the great heroes of China and models for every ruler that should succeed them. They are supposed to have reigned respectively for 101 years and 50 years, from B.C. 2356 to 2255 and 2255 to 2205.

The first of the historical dynasties is that of Chow, which is said to have been founded by Wu Wang B.C. 1122, and lasted till B.C. 255. The annals of each reign are short and chiefly relate to the doings of the sovereign. Instances of the excessive cruelty and barbarity of the punishments favoured by the Chinese constantly recur. We read also of frequent outspoken rebukes administered to tyrannical emperors by their grantees or ministers. "Let the people have the widest freedom of speech, and listen to what they say, and correct the things in which you are wrong," were words addressed to the Emperor Li by one of his nobles, in the ninth century B.C. It was during the rule of this dynasty that the three great thinkers, Lautze, Confucius and Mencius were born. The Chow dynasty was succeeded in B.C. 255 by that of Tsin, which gave place in B.C. 206 to that of Han. It was with that dynasty that the curious custom originated which is said to be still in force, and to which the author appeals in favour of the veracity of the Standard History. Historians were appointed to write the annals of the Empire secretly, and with absolute immunity from any punishment for what they might record. "As each document was written it was deposited in an iron-bound chest, which remained locked till the dynasty had ceased to rule." The author states in his preface that the story of the present dynasty was not available to him, because it is "still concealed in the recesses of the historical chest." The extraordinary superstition of the Chinese is well exemplified in the career of one of the Kings, Wu Ti, of this dynasty, whose long reign of 54 years was made miserable for himself and his subjects by his "mad passion for immortality." He became the dupe of the vilest men in the kingdom, who pretended to the exercise of magical arts, and through the intrigues of one of these he caused the flight of his own son, and the death of his own wife, who had taken her son's part.

It was the second Emperor of the later Han dynasty (founded by a cousin of the last of the Han kings) who introduced Buddhism into China in the year A.D. 65, but we find a subsequent emperor in the fifth century issuing an edict for the abolition of this religion because in consequence of its introduction "neither the principles of Heaven could be carried out, nor the government of the country, nor the teaching of the people."

We are prevented by want of space from continuing our notice of this important historical work down to later times. It is sufficient to say that the volume only concludes with the account of the late war between China and Japan. There are four appendices, and a useful index, and the work is rendered complete by an excellent map.

#### "THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA"

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY; CHICAGO, 1897.

II. *The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records*, told by PAUL CARUS. In this work the author has set himself the task of presenting to

Western readers in a condensed form the main features of Buddhism—not the Buddhism of this or that sect as now practised—but the original doctrine expounded by the founder and held by his immediate disciples. In fact, the work essays to be such a compendium of Buddhism as might have been written by an inspired disciple of “the Master” a hundred years after Buddha’s death. It is therefore to a certain extent a work of the imagination, for it is impossible that anyone of Western origin in the 19th century should put himself exactly in the position of an early Buddhist. The greater portion of the book, however, consisting as it does of anecdotes, parables, sermons, and maxims, collated from original documents to which reference is given in an appendix, may fairly be considered historic; and probably no better method of furnishing a modern superficial inquirer with a generally correct notion of the tenets of Buddhism could have been devised. We notice that the work is already in its fifth edition, which attests its popularity.

Of course, the religion of Buddha is shown at its best, when all that is unessential to the main teaching is omitted, and the subsequent accretions of superstition are ignored. If there were any intention to set Buddhism up as a rival to Christianity it might be objected that the former religion is exhibited too favourably by the mere process of pruning; but it is evident that the author has no such ambition, nor do we suppose that anyone brought up in the Christian religion would take more than an academic interest in the character and teaching of Buddha as described in the volume. Such being the case, it is only desirable that the beauty of the original design should be thrown into relief by the clearance of encumbrances. It is more important for us to know what amount of vital truth the professors of other religions are bound to acknowledge, than what amount of error they have permitted themselves to accept.

There can be no reason why a true Christian should not admire the story of Buddha’s ministry, which is here presented in a most attractive form, and rejoice that it should have formed the inheritance of so many millions of human beings from whom the light of his own Gospel has been withheld.

The author announces that his main object was “to set the reader a-thinking on the religious problems of to-day,” and that he cherishes the hope that the book will “help to develop in Christianity not less than in Buddhism the *cosmic religion of truth*.” The phrase which we have underlined appears to us unfortunately vague. Apparently we must *not* understand the author to mean by it merely that body of morality which is the common inheritance of all nations, and developed in “the natural way of moral evolution.” But it does appear to mean a very broad form of Christianity, dispensing with dogmas and symbols, but substituting for them a great deal of what may be called meaningless phraseology. Take the following extract from the conclusion of the “Gospel of Buddha” which is an original contribution of the author :

“THE PURPOSE OF BEING.

“When in the cycle of forming universes the first tangible shapes of sun and earth and moon appeared, Truth moved in the cosmic dust, and filled

the whole world with blazing light. Yet there was no eye to see the light, no ear to listen to the truth, no mind to perceive its meaning; and in the immeasurable spaces of existence no place was found where the truth could abide in all its glory.

"In the due course of evolution sentiency appeared and sense perception arose. There was a new realm of soul-life, full of yearning, with powerful passions and of unconquerable energy. And the world split in twain: there were pleasures and pains, self and not self, friends and foes, hatred and love. The truth vibrated through the world of sentiency, but in all its infinite potentialities no place could be found where the truth could abide in all its glory." "And reason came forth in the struggle for life," etc.

We ask: what is a "cycle of forming universes"? "How could the shapes of sun, earth and moon be *tangible* in a world destitute of sentiency?" While universes were in the process of forming where was there a world? If truth filled the world with blazing light, how is it said there was no place for truth? And lastly, what are "immeasurable spaces of existence" considered in the abstract, before sentiency, of which "space" and "existence" are mere conditions, had been evolved? We ask these questions in no captious spirit. They may evince a want of due intelligence, but if the religion of the future is to be devoid of all symbolism, the words in which its instructions are conveyed, should be such as to command the most unhesitating assent from the least cultivated intellect. W.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

12. *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, by DANIEL G. BRINTON, M.A., M.D., LL.D., SC.D., Professor of American Archæology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This volume forms the second of a series of Lectures promoted by the "Historical Society of Philadelphia," organized in 1891, somewhat after the plan of the "Hibbert Lectures" of England, delivered annually by the best scholars in Europe and America. The present course was delivered during last winter, at various Universities and Seminaries of learning, in America. The object of Professor Brinton is to exhibit religion as displayed, in its earliest and simplest forms, in the faith and rites of primitive peoples, as shown in their psychical phenomena. He follows the method of history, comparison and psychology, and displays great research and philosophic and linguistic discrimination, describing primitive religions as expressed in word, object, and rites, and concluding his wide survey by evincing the lines of development in the course of time, from various causes, sources, and associations. The vast collation of facts, and the philosophic treatment of the subject, render Dr. Brinton's Lectures valuable and interesting. They will no doubt evoke considerable discussion on the various questions raised, among which are the origin of myths and rites—their relation to one another; and how far the author is correct in his assumption or theory, that primitive religions are the spontaneous products of the psychal faculties of man, apart from Divine inspiration, tradition and history.

13. *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures of the Euphrates—the narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the years*

1888-90, by JOHN PUNNETT PETERS, PH.D., SC.D., D.D., vol. ii. *Second Campaign*. This volume continues Dr. Peters' narrative of his explorations in Nippur, of which we gave a brief notice in our last issue. We observe with pleasure, that the committee in Philadelphia most generously agreed to place at Dr. Peters' disposal a sufficiency of funds for carrying on his explorations. As we anticipated, his second volume exceeds in interest even the preceding one. While the narrative of Dr. Peters' adventures, on his way from Constantinople to Nippur by Damascus and Palmyra, and his visit to Ur of the Chaldees, the country of Abraham the Hebrew, is very instructive, the interest of the work is concentrated in the excavations of the city of Nippur, probably the oldest city in the world yet known. He found traces of building upon building, through thousands of years, until he reached virgin soil, all giving evidence, from the walls, and the contents of rooms, of a high state of civilization, long preceding that of Assyria, Greece, or Rome, and even Egypt, during an epoch of perhaps 5,000 years B.C. "Nippur," says Dr. Peters, "evidently enjoyed from the most remote period a peculiar position, as the original religious centre of the country, although how she won it, and what was her relation to the civilization of Babylonia we cannot yet determine further," but there is abundant evidence from the bricks, from the style of building, and the contents of rooms, that temples of worship had been erected, preserved, and restored by Kings of various dynasties in remote ages, and that the place was much resorted to by pilgrims from a distance, as well as the inhabitants of surrounding regions. Its inscriptions and archives contain almost the only trace, for example, of the Cossoean dynasty, which ruled for three hundred years, after the disruption of the Babylonian power. The results of Dr. Peters' excavations, though great, and of supreme value to archæology in its various branches, he regards as "but the beginning of the exploration of Nippur." He considers that he has "only opened the door into a very treasure chamber, full of the most ancient records of the world." He describes the Ziggurat, or high places of the Temple of Bel—which he discovered, the ruins of which form an artificial mountain—"as the apex of the Temple, where there are inscriptions indicating it to have been 'Nugarsag,' 'Mountain of heaven,'" and the small brick structure that crowned the Ziggurat, as "the mysterious dwelling-place of the unseen god, emblem of the tabernacle above the clouds, and in so far similar to the Holy of Holies of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. At the base of the Ziggurat stood the altar at which were offered the sacrifices to the god that dwelt upon the summit." The volume is enriched with many beautiful plates and maps with detailed descriptions, illustrating the temples and other buildings and objects unearthed, a very copious index, and a portrait of Dr. William Pepper, President of the Babylonian Exploration Fund. We sincerely trust that every effort will be made by him and his committee to embrace the golden opportunity now presented of continuing, with determined perseverance, the important work they have begun, the results of which may be looked forward to in future volumes with great expectation by archæologists and historians in all parts of the world.

## A NEW EDITION OF "HARÎRÎ."

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *The Assemblies of Harîrî*, by DR. F. STEINGASS. This handy volume gives, in 472 pages, "the Arabic text with English notes, grammatical, critical, and historical," and a "Vocabulary to the last ten Assemblies." It is aptly styled the "Student's Edition" of this celebrated classic. The word *Maqāmāt*, here rendered "Assemblies," is used by Al Harîrî in the sense of "Prelections," as *Majlîs* is used by As Suyûṭî, in the passage cited from the *Muzhir* in p. xxvii, note (2), of the Preface to my Arabic Grammar, in the sense of "Lesson." The author of these Prelections, the Shaikh Abū Muḥammad al Qāsim Ibn 'Alī al Baṣrî, known as Al Harîrî (the *silḥ-merchant* or *silḥ-manufacturer*) from harîr (*silḥ*), and Al Ḥarāmî from the street of the Banū Ḥarām in Al Baṣra, was born in 446: and died, in that very street, in 516, or, as some say, 515, at the age of seventy. He studied philology under the grammarian Abul-Qāsim al Faḍl Ibn Muḥammad al Qasabānî al Baṣrî, a teacher of great fame at Al Baṣra, where Al Khaṭîb at Tabrîzî (b. 421, d. 502), compiler of the *Ḥamāsa*, had been his pupil. Although Al Qasabānî enjoyed such a high reputation in his own time, that pupils travelled to Al Baṣra from distant regions to profit by his instruction, the year of his death cannot now be determined with any certainty. It is given by Al Kamāl Ibn Al Ambārî in the *Nuzhat al Alibbā*, by As Suyûṭî in the *Bughyat al Wu'āt*, by Ḥājji Khalifa in his Bibliographical Lexicon, and by Naṣr al Hūrînî in his Preface to the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, as 444, which must be wrong, because Al Harîrî, who mentions him in the *Durrat al Ghawwās* as his master, was not born till 446. The *Nuzhat* adds that Al Qasabānî's death took place in the reign of Al Qā'im bi Amr Allāh (422-467); and perhaps, therefore, 464 may be the right year, when Al Harîrî would have been eighteen years old. However that may be, his illustrious pupil Al Harîrî was the author of several works in prose and verse, the best known being the *Maqāmāt* and the *Durrat al Ghawwās*. Some account of the circumstances under which these Prelections were composed, and of the principal Commentaries which enable us to understand and appreciate these difficult *jeux d'esprit*, might advantageously have been given by Dr. Steingass in his lengthy preface. Want of space hinders me from attempting to supply this defect. The text of the *Maqāmāt* is clearly printed. According to the editor, it is "arranged on a progressive plan," the signs of vocalization and punctuation being gradually omitted as the student advances in his reading. The Notes, which guide him through the difficulties of the first forty Prelections, are replaced in the last ten by the "Vocabulary," which is really a Commentary in Arabic, "intended to prepare the aspiring Arabist for the study of the native commentaries and lexicographical works." With a bold contempt for the common prejudice against the use of a "crib," Dr. Steingass says in his Preface, "I strongly advise the learner to have, at the outset, recourse to Chenery's or Preston's translation." And, as a final encouragement, he considerably adds: "If he finds himself in any perplexity past solving unaided, I shall always be happy to answer any queries directed to me at my address below, or to

undertake a course of reading with him at moderate terms, from which I can promise him rapid progress." The Prelections are undoubtedly among the most difficult specimens of Arabic literature; and, if the student has to grope his way through them without the aid of a teacher, he will probably find it necessary to supplement the notes here provided for him with one of the excellent translations suggested by Dr. Steingass. But a far better plan will be for him to read the book with its learned editor, whose oral instruction will throw more light on the text than the student will be likely to get from any translation. M. S. HOWELL.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

15. *History in Fact and Fiction: A Literary Sketch*, by the HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, author of the "Divided Irish," "Religious Development," etc. This is a very readable work. The author, with the view of contributing to the solution of the Eastern Question, and the maintenance of toleration and religious liberty, exhibits in a lively instructive manner the respective positions of Paganism in ancient Rome, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mahomedanism in Asia and Africa, the Jewish system throughout the various nations of the world, and the Christian system in Europe and America. He points out, with considerable force, the persecuting element in these several systems, at various times, and the gradual development of the principles of toleration, as expounded and illustrated in the writings of Shakespeare, Locke, Milton, Sir Walter Scott, and others. We think, however, the author fails in fully gauging the pernicious effect of the writings of Gibbon, Hume, and Voltaire, on the religious belief of France and England, and that he has not realized the secret of the struggles for civil and religious liberty culminating in the Reformation, and subsequently the realization of the principles of the English Constitution in Church and State. He rightly considers that the recent researches of Oriental Scholars and Archæologists have contributed much to enlarge our knowledge and increase our sympathy with the religious systems of the East, and have thus vindicated our policy in continuing our tolerant and sympathetic rule throughout the Empire. The work merits a very careful perusal.

16. *Indian Frontier Policy, an Historical Sketch*, by GENERAL SIR JOHN ADYE, G.C.B., R.A., with a map. This small book is a valuable contribution to the discussion provoked by the war on the Indian Frontier. Sir John Abye condemns not only the policy of the present Government in retaining possession of Chitral, but all the previous attempts which have been made to secure a scientific frontier by force. When he contends that an invasion of India from the North West is not only unlikely, but impossible, he must surely forget that India has repeatedly been invaded; and devastated, and conquered by general after general, who attacked it by this route, during the seven hundred years which preceded British rule. But this point does not affect his argument that the Indian Government by devoting itself to the welfare of the millions under its sway and developing the resources of the country would do more for the happiness of the people and the security of the Empire than by squandering its finance in constant expeditions beyond its borders.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO.; LONDON.

17. *The Eastern Question*, by KARL MARX. For those who have leisure, "The Eastern Question," which is a series of reprints of letters and articles written by Karl Marx for the New York Tribune from 1853 to 1856, will provide plenty of amusing reading, while future historians of the Crimean War will be saved the trouble of referring to American files of papers for an independent and sometimes hostile but always racy commentary upon the conduct of European diplomacy during that eventful period. The writer appears to have had but a poor opinion of our own statesmen, and especially of Lord Palmerston, whom he calls "that brilliant boggler and loquacious humbug;" but it is interesting to find that he would have had no sympathy with those politicians of the present day who argue that the Eastern Question would have been solved in those days, once for all, and in the best of all manners, if France and England had allowed Russia to seize Constantinople, and driven the Turk out of Europe. This is what he wrote about Constantinople in August 1853:

"Constantinople is the Eternal City—the Rome of the East. Under the ancient Greek Emperors, Western civilization amalgamated there so far with Eastern Barbarism, and under the Turks, Eastern Barbarism amalgamated so far with Western civilization, as to make this centre of a theoretical Empire the effectual bar against European progress. When the Greek Emperors were turned out by the Sultans of Iconium, the genius of the ancient Byzantine Empire survived this change of dynasties, and if the Sultan were to be supplanted by the Czar, the *Bas Empire* would be restored to life with more demoralizing influences than under the ancient emperors, and with more aggressive power than under the Sultan. Constantinople is the golden bridge thrown between the West and the East, and Western civilization cannot, like the sun, go round the world without passing that bridge, and it cannot pass it without a struggle with Russia. The Sultan holds Constantinople only in trust for the Revolution, and the present nominal dignitaries of Western Europe, themselves finding the last stronghold of their 'order' on the shores of the Neva, can do nothing but keep the question in suspense until Russia has to meet her real antagonist, the Revolution. The Revolution which will break the Rome of the West, will also overpower the demoniac influences of the Rome of the East."

It appears then that Lord Beaconsfield was following a Radical and not a Conservative programme when he saved Constantinople from the Russian armies in 1878.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON; LONDON.

18. *Men who have made the Empire, from William Duke of Normandy to Cecil Rhodes of Rhodesia*, by GEORGE GRIFFITH. This book appears to have been written mainly with the object of vindicating the reputation of Mr. Rhodes. At least the pages devoted to that living celebrity follow upon the narratives of past heroes like the moral to an ingenious collection of stories, and the names of Cecil Rhodes and William of Normandy are coupled on the title-page much in the same way as the Posthlewite and Maudle, invented by "Punch," were supposed to couple each other's names



in conversation with those of Shakespeare and Rubens. So much irrational and unworthy vituperation has been showered upon Mr. Rhodes, that we must expect his admirers to take any fair opportunity or method of influencing the public mind in his favour. The series of sketches, despite some rather high-falutin' language, is vigorously written, and, though too strong for the regular diet of any class of the community, may be of use as an antidote against the captious insouciance which makes so many of us an easy prey to the denunciations of eminent men by interested agitators.

The author appears to have travelled widely over the globe and he plainly deems its whole surface to be the natural inheritance of Englishmen, that is to say, of "Citizens of the Empire,"

"Teuton or Celt or whatever we be,"

who are called English for short in foreign countries. To understand his views we must accept three postulates. The first is that "The making of a nation, and the building of nations up into empires is humanly speaking the greatest and noblest work that human hands and brains can find to do." The second is that "The British Empire as it stands to-day is unquestionably the greatest moral and material fact in human history." And the third appears to be, that if any work *has* to be done, in order that a certain end may be accomplished, the man who does it is great, though he may not be the best of men, nor his work the noblest of work. We may say in passing that we can only give a very modified assent to any of these propositions, but there is no doubt they embody much of the teaching of Carlyle. Hence the author begins his series of English Empire-makers,—not with King Alfred, the hero of our boyhood,—but with William the Conqueror. An infusion of Norman blood was necessary to develop the instinct of earth hunger in the sluggish temperament of the Saxon. He passes over the Barons who fought for Magna Charta, and selects Edward I. as his second hero, apparently for the sake of his dying words, "Bury me not till you have conquered Scotland," which are taken as the motto of his biography. Next comes Sir Francis Drake, "The master thief of the new world"; and then follow Cromwell, William III., Captain Cook, Clive, and Warren Hastings, with the victors of Trafalgar and Waterloo. The strangest figure in this company is General Gordon—so strange that the author introduces him with some words of apology:

"It might indeed" (he says) "be asked by the superficial observer in what sense he was an Empire-maker at all, or what right he has to claim a place in that long and splendid array of great men . . . whose succession stretches through the centuries from William Duke of Normandy to Cecil John Rhodes of Rhodesia." He finds the answer in the reflection that the British Empire "is not only the greatest concrete Fact that the world has ever seen; it is also a vast and very splendid Idea"—and he goes on to say, "This realm of ours is what it is, not only because we have fought for some parts of it and successfully stolen others. It is ours because we knew how to make use of it after we got it; because of all other men now existing on the face of the earth the Anglo-Saxon is the best leader and governor of savage and semi-savage men that has so far been evolved, and of such leaders and governors Gordon plainly proved himself to be one of

the best." So that, after all, the "greatest and noblest work that human hands and brains can find to do" is perhaps not the creation of Empires, but the inspiring one's fellowmen with the sense of duty, and the importance of conduct, by the force of unswerving honesty and the example of a noble life untainted with personal aggrandisement or love of money, even though it be for the purpose of carrying out "big ideas."

## STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE RELIGIONS.

B. QUARITCH; LONDON.

19. *Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions, embracing all the Religions of Asia*, by MAJOR-GENERAL J. G. R. FORLONG. Many persons are under the idea that great progress has been made at the present day in the study of comparative mythology. It has certainly received a large share of attention, and much has been written on the subject; but as yet it is doubtful if any real advance has been made. The learned writers who have expounded their conclusions differ so widely about the very essentials regarding the origin of man's ideas which gave birth to mythology that it may be affirmed nothing in the character of a scientific basis has been established. The solar myth, which at one time figured largely in theories of mythology, has long been at a heavy discount, and more than one writer has expressed their fear of alluding to it, lest they should be laughed at. A learned Professor who has done much good work in the field of philology as well as mythology, is now told that he is not up to date, and that his theories are worthless. Another learned author wrote "The Mythology of the Aryan Nations," a book brimful of knowledge, that was much talked about when it appeared. A work has just been published "On the Evolution of the Idea of God," which falls back upon the old doctrine of Euemeros, to which is added the "Ghost" theory of Mr. Herbert Spencer. It is needless to say how this theory of evolution is already being treated by the critics. These examples, running on different lines, some of them the very opposite of the others, are enough to show that no recognised system has yet been reached, and that the study of comparative mythology is only in its infancy. The explanation of this may be easily understood. Up to our own day students of mythology had only a very limited field to work in; it has only been since the present century was well advanced that the knowledge of Egyptology, Cuneiform, and Sanscrit has revealed to us trustworthy data of the more important religious systems of Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea, and India, to which might be added China. From these sources a flood of new light has come upon us, but the mass of this fresh knowledge has been so great and so varied in its character, that there has not been sufficient time to fully grasp and realize its full meaning. Extensive as the knowledge already at our command may be, it is well enough understood that it is only a first commencement; there are almost numberless books and inscriptions that are waiting to be translated and made accessible to the student. We really do not know what may be yet in store for us; a new inscription or Sacred Book of the East may any day cause us to alter, or at least lead us to modify, all our notions of comparative mythology. Each one has been honestly endeavour-

ing to work out the problems that are now before us, and the learned writers referred to above have all been doing what they could according to our present lights; time only can tell which of them has seen farthest into the more doubtful parts of the subject.

General Forlong's "Short Studies,"—which by-the-bye are not very deficient in length,—is another of these learned contributions on Comparative Mythology. The work includes all the principal religions of Asia, and is full of valuable information derived from the latest authorities, including the author's own long experience in India, where, as an Engineer Officer, he became familiar with that country, including the space from Burmah to the Panjab. His function, in connection with public works, brought him into contact with archæological remains of temples, as well as the primitive ceremonies and customs of the various races to be found in that region. One result of this wide experience has been the author's conclusion, a rather important point, that the natives of India before the Aryan occupation were not in that condition of barbarism which has been previously assumed; and that the invaders were probably the least civilized of the two. The Aryans were from the north, and had only the advantage of being the most warlike, and to this alone they owed their conquering power. There are many reasons that might be given which favour such an aspect of the case. There is no space here to deal with this, and many other questions in General Forlong's book, but it may be worth pointing out that the civilized condition of the pre-Aryan races is assumed by the author to be not unconnected with the origin of Buddhism. His theory is that a religion existed in India, probably extending as far as Afghanistan, and from a remote period of time, which may have been mainly Buddhist or Jaina in its character; and that it only reached a culminating point under the influence of Gotama's teaching. This is in perfect keeping with what is known of other religions; the new ideas had to be in existence,—the ground had to be prepared,—before the young faith could be born out of them. The General points to the previous Buddhas, and the long list of Jaina Tirthankars, in confirmation of this. Naturally doubts exist as to whether these individuals were historical, or only mythic evolutions. The author accepts Parsva at least, the twenty-third Tirthankar, as well as Maha-Vira, the twenty-fourth, and last of these prophets, as historical. Buddhism and Jainism have so much in common that they are in all likelihood one and the same religion. Both have a long list of previous teachers;—and to this it may be added that the lives of both the last of these teachers, Gotama and Maha-Vira, as they have come down to us, possess very strong features of resemblance. M. Jacobi, who translates the Jaina Sutras, accepts this, but refuses to admit that they are the same. This may yet become a very fine question, for Buddha's life, as it is recorded, is full of that which is purely mythical, as M. Senart has long ago pointed out. From this it will be understood that these Short Studies deal in much that goes far back to the outer edge of our exact knowledge and touch on many points that are yet open to doubt and speculation. The article on Laotsze and Tao-ism is a good illustration of this, for although we have the Tao Teh King and other

Taoist books, there is much that is mystic and mysterious in the life, as it is related, of "The Old Philosopher." The spiritual and ascetic teaching of this ancient man,—so different from that of Confucius,—is suggested by General Forlong to have been due to that early form of Buddhism or Jainism, which may have extended eastward to the borders of China. As the space for this notice is limited, it can only be further mentioned that there are also articles on Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Confucius and his Faith, the Elohim, and the Jehovah of the Hebrews, and Muhammadanism. The tone in which some parts of the book are written will no doubt excite controversy, but outside of that, a great deal of solid information may be found ; and it ought to be looked upon as another good contribution to the study of Comparative Mythology.

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 PRIVATELY PRINTED.

20. *The Mystic Rose from the Garden of the King.* A fragment of the version of Sheikh Haji Ibrahim of Kerbela, rendered into English by FAIRFAX L. CARTWRIGHT, B.A., secretary in her Majesty's Diplomatic Service.

Like the "Gospel of Buddha," this is a purely imaginative book ; the author having selected an Oriental mode of diction for the expression of his own thoughts, which are deeply imbued with the mysticism of the Persian Sufis. It is not a real translation of any existing Persian book, but both in matter and form it strives to reproduce in the English language a sample of Persian prose literature. The style is that of a cultured scholar, and has something of the same charm,—though more redolent of the East than of the West,—of Mr. Pater's carefully polished sentences. There are passages in the book of considerable beauty of diction ; and, as is customary in Persian literature, the problems of thought which are discussed and the various arguments which suggest themselves are illustrated by numerous well told anecdotes. A certain boldness in handling subjects which are usually tabooed in Western literature, except in books of physiology, rather unfits the work for general perusal ; nor do we suppose that its mystic doctrine is likely to become generally popularised in the West. It is a scholarly work intended for scholars, and especially for those who are attracted by the æsthetic beauties of Sufism. We select the following extract for quotation :

"A Sheikh sat with his Disciple by the shore of a lake, and their discourse was of the Mystery of Human Existence, and the Sheikh, gazing upon the placid surface of the water, exclaimed : 'Behold the Mirror ! Therein we perceive forms and images which appear to us realities, the clouds in the sky, the birds which fly, the trees by the shore ; and yet we are convinced that what we see is but a phantom, and has no substantial existence. If the tree we perceive in the mirror of the lake is nought, what certainty have we that the tree on the shore is not likewise a phantom of our imagination ?'

"Then the Disciple sighed, saying with lament : 'Indeed there is no Certainty, there is but Doubt.'

"Again the Sheikh spoke, saying : 'To us Men some knowledge is

given, and as our Souls at present perceive and are convinced that the Form in the mirror of the lake is not a Reality but a reflection of the tree on the shore, so some day shall the Soul perceive that the tree on the shore is but the Reflection of some other Reflection nearer to some fragment of some Quality of the Absolute.'

"Again the Disciple sighed and lamented, saying: 'Then all around us is a mirage and a phantom; Deception surroundeth us! Where shall I cast the Anchor of my Belief that my Soul may have rest?'

"To whom the Sheikh replied: 'Let thy Soul cast its Anchor within itself. Let it cease to contemplate Unreality, the reflection of its own qualities and desires. Let it yield to its Instinct, the Primeval Impulse, and let it turn to seek the Beloved, the Beautiful. Thus will happiness be attained, thus will content and the haven of rest be reached.'"

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books which want of space prevents our noticing at greater length in the present number:

*Indian Coinage and Currency. Papers on an Indian Gold Standard, with the Indian Coinage and Currency Acts corrected to date*, by L. C. PROBYN (Effingham Wilson, London, 1897). This is a reprint of several valuable papers read before the East India Association between 1888 and 1896. It is illustrated by a diagram showing the relative value of silver and of the rupee in each month from January, 1892, to September, 1897.

*Modern Mythology*, by ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D. St. Andrews, Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, sometime Gifford Lecturer in the University of Oxford (Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, and Bombay). An important work, which we hope to notice hereafter.

*Stories from the Faerie Queene*, by MARY MACLEOD, with Introduction by JOHN W. HALES, drawings by A. G. Walker, sculptor (Gardner, Darton and Co., London). A beautiful volume, written with the object of making the stories of "The Faerie Queene" more familiar, and so far as we can judge from a rapid glance through its pages, eminently calculated to fulfil that object.

*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, by the Abbé J. A. DUBOIS. Translated from the author's later French MS., and edited, with notes, corrections, and Biography by HENRY K. BEAUCHAMP, with a prefatory note by the Right Hon. F. MAX MÜLLER, and a portrait (at the Clarendon Press, Oxford). We propose to review this work, which (to use the Right Hon. F. Max Müller's words) will be welcome not only to Sanskrit scholars, but to all who take an intelligent interest in India, in our next number.

*The Law of Divorce applicable to Christians in India (the Indian Divorce Act 1869)*, by H. A. B. RATTIGAN, B.A. Oxon, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law, and an Advocate at the High Court of the North West Provinces, and of the Chief Court of the Punjab (Wild and Sons, Lincoln's Inn Archway, London; Pioneer Press, Allahabad).

*The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*, by MONTAGU BURROWS, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls; Captain R.N., F.S.A., etc.; "Officier de

l'Instruction Publique," France. (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London). A new and cheaper edition of a well-known and widely-read work.

*The Bible and Islam; or, The Influence of the Old and New Testaments on the Religion of Mohammed, being the Ely Lectures for 1897*, by HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, D.D. (James Nisbet and Co., London).

*Everyday Life in Turkey*, by Mrs. W. M. RAMSAY (Hodder and Stoughton, London).

*La Route du Tchad du Loango au Chari* (JEAN DYBOWSKI), *Ouvrage illustré de 136 dessins inédits par Mme. Paule Crampel, MM. E. Loëvy, Montader, Clement et Binetau d'après les photographies, dessins, aquarelles de l'auteur et les documents rapportés par lui*. (Librarie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, imprimeurs de l'institut, rue Jacob, 56, Paris, 1893.)

*China and Japan*, by E. VON HESSE-WARTEGG (J. J. Weber, Leipzig 1897). This charmingly printed and illustrated work gives an interesting account of these two important Eastern empires, and the eminent author's experiences and views in connection therewith. We intend giving this monumental work the full and careful review that it so emphatically deserves in our next number.

*The Honourable James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor N. W. P. India, 1843—1853 A.D.*, by Sir WM. MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., PH.D. (T. and T. Clark, 38, George Street, Edinburgh). A reprint of an article in the *Calcutta Review*, 1853, written shortly after the death of the distinguished Indian Statesman, whose career it narrates, by one who was destined, in after years, to hold the same high office of Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. P. India.

*Studia Sinaitica*, No. VI. *A Palestinian-Syriac Lectionary, containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles*. Edited by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, with Critical Notes by Professor EBERHARD NESTLE, D.D., and a Glossary by MARGARET D. GIBSON (C. J. Clay and Sons Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane, London; 263, Argyle Street, Glasgow).

*Anecdota Oxoniensia. Texts, Documents and Extracts chiefly from Manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Aryan Series, Part VIII. The Mantrapāṭha: or, The Prayer-book of the Apastambius*, edited by M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D. I. (at the Clarendon Press, Oxford).

*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XIII., No. 4: *Continuing Hebraica* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago; Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London; K. F. Köhler's Antiquarium Kurprinstrasse, 6, Leipzig).

And also the following: *The Anti-Christian Crusade*, by ROBERT P. C. CORFE (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London);—*A Welsh Grammar for Schools*, by E. ANWYL, M.A. Oxon, Part I.: *Accidence*, Parallel Grammar Series (Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London; The Macmillan Co., New York);—*On Kali's Shoulder*, by JOHN AYSCOUGH (A. H. Swiss, 111 and 112, Fore Street, Devonport);—*The Nicetical Christ: An Essay on the Faith of the Historical Christ in relation to a New Reformation*, by S. H. PLAYFAIR (W. H. White and Co., Limited, Edinburgh); *The Reform of Currency*

(Effingham Wilson, 11, Royal Exchange, London);—*Patriotism*, by the Right Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., LL.D., D.C.L. (Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster);—*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, Volume Decimo (Firenze Bernardo Seeber Librario-Editore, Via Tornabuoni, 20);—*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Vol. III., Part V. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., Limited, London);—and *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, Vol. I., No. 3. Editors LIM BOON KENG and SONG ONG SIANG (printed for the proprietors of the Koh Yen Hean Press, Singapore).

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*The American Weekly, Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine*, and *The Navy and Army and Country Life*, both illustrated. The last Quarter's "SANSKRIT JOURNAL" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

At the last moment we are compelled by want of space to reserve for our April number reviews of the following: *The Silence of God*, by ROBERT ANDERSON, C.B., LL.D. (Hodder and Stoughton, London). *In Camp and Cantonment*, by EDITH E. CUTHELL (Hurst and Blackett, London). *The Story of the Ionic Revolt and Persian War as told by Herodotus*, Selections from the translation of Canon Rawlinson, Revised by C. C. Tancock, M.A. (John Murray, London). *Conditional Immortality: A Help to Sceptics*, by Professor SIR G. C. STOKES (James Nisbet and Co., London). *The Gist of Japan—The Islands, People and Missions*, by the REV. R. B. PEERY, and *Chinese Characteristics*, by ARTHUR H. SMITH (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London). *The Life of Saladin*, by Behâ-ed-Dîn, translated by SIR CHARLES WILSON and COLONEL CONDER (Palestine Exploration Fund). *Pictures of Southern China*, by the REV. T. MACGOWAN (The Religious Tract Society). *From Jungle to Java*, by ARTHUR KEYSER (The Roxburghe Press, London). *The Temples and Shrines of Nikko, Japan*, by R. C. HOPE (Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai). *The Story of Australia*, by FLORA L. SHAW, and *The Story of India*, by D. C. BOULGER (Horace Marshall and Son, London).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—The following is a summary of the final operations in the Mohmand country continued from our last number:

General Elles's advance began at the end of September. He defeated and dispersed the gatherings of the Alma Khel, and the Kuda Khel tribes in the Jarobi and Bohai valleys, and destroyed the forts.

General Jeffreys' brigade had a severe engagement on the 30th September, near Agrah and Gat, with a large force of well-armed Mohmands, defeating them and destroying a number of their towers. On October 3rd, General Blood, co-operating with General Jeffreys, attacked and took the village of Badelai; he then destroyed the fortifications of the Salarzai village, whereupon both the Upper and Lower Salarzais surrendered the arms demanded of them. The Mohmands, whose losses had been great, negotiated for peace through the loyal Khan of Nawagai. The British loss in these operations amounted to 22 officers and 245 men killed and wounded. The money fines collected from the tribes concerned in the attacks on Malakand and Chakdara amounted to 95,000 rupees; and 231 breechloaders, 4,356 muskets and 1,683 swords were surrendered. General Blood then withdrew his force to the left bank of the Panjkora river.

*The Tirah expedition.* General Sir William Lockhart who reached India in September, took command of the force organized to penetrate into the Tirah country, the home of the Orakzais and Afridis. This force consisted of 31,000 men, and was composed as follows: Two divisions of 9,000 men each, under the commands of Major-General Symons and Major-General Yeatman-Biggs respectively; 5,000 under General Palmer for holding the line of communication, the Peshawar column 5,000 strong under General Hammond, and the Kurram movable column of 2,500 men under General Hill. Sir Richard Udny, Mr. King, and Colonel Warburton were appointed Political advisers, whilst Lord Methuen accompanied the headquarters as Press Censor. General Lockhart had previously notified to the Tirah Orakzais and Afridis that, in consequence of their having broken their treaty engagements, a force would be marched through their country and that terms of submission would be announced on the arrival of the force at their capital. The tribesmen forewarned of the intended advance, mustered in great force in the Bara and Khanki valleys. On the 18th October Brigadier-General Kempster's brigade under the command of Sir A. Palmer, came in contact with the enemy near Dargai, and defeated them with great loss. On his retirement from this place, it was again occupied, in force, by the tribesmen, who had been strongly reinforced from the Khanki Valley; but the position was stormed and retaken on October 20th after a very stubborn resistance, in which our losses amounted to 195 killed and wounded. The second division encountered the enemy near Karappa, which place was captured after seven hours fighting. On the 25th October the two divisions concentrated at Khangarbur, and a few days later attacked the Sempagha Pass, which was carried with but slight loss, the enemy contrary to all expecta-



tions making only a feeble resistance. Following up his success, General Lockhart cleverly out-manceuvred the tribesmen at the Arhanga defile, and captured it, with few casualties. This pass is the gate of the Maidan Valley, which is wide, flat, and well watered. A reconnaissance in force from here to the Saran Sar heights on the North-East, resulted in a sharp engagement taking place on our retirement, during which Lieut. McIntyre and twelve men of the Northampton Regiment were, owing to the difficult country, unfortunately cut off and killed, fighting to the last.

General Kempster's brigade then marched to Waran, and destroyed the residence of the Mullah, Sayyad Akbar, a prominent leader of the Orakzai-Afridi revolt. Some incriminating correspondence with the Hadda Mullah was found in his house. The next day (17th November) General Kempster was attacked at the Serai Kandao Pass by a large body of Zakka and Akka Khel Afridis, and severe fighting ensued. Four officers were amongst the killed on the British side, and the losses of the tribesmen were exceptionally heavy. On the following day General Lockhart inspected the British and Native regiments which had been engaged, and commended them for their bravery, endurance and resolution. The 1st Division advanced the next day on Bagh. On the 12th November all the Orakzai jirgahs having come into the camp at Maidan, General Lockhart communicated to them through Sir R. Udny, the following terms, to be accepted in a fortnight: 1st. Full restoration of all arms and property looted from the Khaibar forts or taken from us on any subsequent occasion. 2nd. Surrender of 500 breechloaders. 3rd. Payment of a fine of Rs. 30,000. 4th. Absolute forfeiture of all subsidies and allowances granted to the tribes in the past. 5th. Formal submission to be tendered in Durbar. He also announced verbally to the jirgahs of the Melikdin, Kambar, Akka and Adam Khels and by proclamation to the other Afridi tribesmen, the terms on which their submission would be accepted, viz.: the restoration of rifles and other Government property, the surrender of 800 breechloaders, and the payment of a fine of Rs. 50,000. The Peshawar column is now preparing for the Khyber operations.

From Bagh General Westmacott's brigade marched as far as Datoi, and notwithstanding the difficult nature of the country returned with very little loss. General Gaselee's brigade explored the Masozai country, and encountered some severe fighting at the Lozaka Pass. General Lockhart with a flying column, having marched through the Masozai and Chamkanni country, on the 9th December both divisions commenced their return march to the entrance of the Bara Valley. The Peshawar column under Genl. Hammond advanced to Swaikot to prepare for their reception. On the 15th December Genl. Lockhart with the 2nd Division was at Mamani. Continuous fighting had occurred during the return march. The losses between the 9th and 14th December were 16 British killed and 51 wounded, and 17 natives killed and 82 wounded.

In the course of the withdrawal from Tirah, General Symons with General Hart's Brigade marched through the Waran Valley, and thoroughly punished the Akka-Khel Afridis, with but few casualties on our side.

The Orakzais have paid Rs. 27,000 of their fine and surrendered 450 of the 500 rifles demanded of them.

The *Tochi Field Force* and its supports at Bannu, has been comparatively unmolested; the general body of the Waziris has kept quiet, and there has been no hostile demonstration, but Mullah Powindah was said to be with a small gathering at Makin. Sadda Khan, his brother and all the other head-men of the Madda-Khels, except two, who were concerned in the Maizar affair, have surrendered. The troops will remain in the Tochi Valley pending the political settlement.

A reconnoitring patrol of the *Kuram* column, consisting of a native officer and 35 men of the Kapurthala Sikhs, were on November 7th cut off in a ravine by Chamkannis, and all slain.

At the request of the Indian Government a further contingent of doctors and trained nurses was sent from England in October, to cope with the bubonic plague, the services of many of the military medical officers who had been engaged in plague operations having been required for the Tirah expeditionary force. Amongst the nurses was Dr. Miss Marion Hunter. The plague has of late given increased cause for alarm, since, in spite of careful sanitary precautions, the epidemic has broken out in fresh districts, such as Hubli, Wai on the road to Mahabaleshwar, and at Kotri near Karachi, and has appeared even so far north as Jalandhar in the Panjab. At Poona, Bombay, Surat, and Sholapur, it is still prevalent, and also at Hardwar.

The total amount received at the Mansion House for the Indian Famine Fund was nearly £1,500,000, the largest sum that has ever been collected there. The total cost to the Indian Government of the famine up to October was £10,000,000. Sixty million rupees have been spent on relief works, and six million on remission of revenue.

Sir James Braithwaite Peile, K.C.S.I., and Sir Alfred Comyns Lyall have been reappointed members of the Council of India for a further period of five years.

Kishalkar, the editor, and Harmolkar, the proprietor of the Maratha newspaper *Protad*, published in Satara, who had been sentenced to transportation for life, and seven years' respectively, for publishing a seditious article, have had their sentences reduced on appeal, the former to one year's imprisonment, and the latter to three months' imprisonment. The appeal of Mr. Tilak, the editor of the *Kesari*, who was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for exciting disaffection, was dismissed by the Privy Council on the 19th November.

A terrific cyclone visited Chittagong in October last, causing loss of life and much destruction of property.

A Brahmin named Damodar Chapekar has been arrested on the charge of having murdered Mr. Rand and Lieut. Ayerst at Poona in June last, and has confessed the commission of the crime, with the aid of an accomplice. The charge is still under investigation.

NATIVE STATES.—The Government accepted the loyal offer of the Nawab of Loharu to provide a transport train of 218 camels for use on the frontier.

The Raja of Dholpur is serving at the front in the Central India Horse,

in which corps he is an Honorary Major. Major Rajkumar Bikram Singh, son of the Maharaja of Sirmoor, is also with the expedition, in command of the Sirmoor Imperial Service Sappers. Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur, whilst serving on the staff in Tirah, was wounded in the hand by a "sniper."

The Maharani Janaki Kuar of Bettiah has subscribed 20,000 rupees for the relief of distress in the district of Champaran, besides giving grain to the value of 6,000 rupees.

H.M. the Queen Empress has conferred the decoration of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India on Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba, wife of the Maharana Dhiraj Fateh Singh of Udaipur, and also on Her Highness the Nawab Shams-i-Jahān Begum Sahiba of Murshidabad.

The Representative Assembly of Mysore was opened in October with a speech from the Diwan, which stated that the finances were in a satisfactory condition, general progress had been maintained, cultivation had extended, and the production of gold had greatly increased. The Budget for 1898 shows income—Rs. 1,84,63,000, and expenditure—Rs. 1,73,28,000.

A terrible railway accident has occurred in Mysore on the Southern Mahratta Railway, owing to a flood washing away a bridge, and more than one hundred lives were lost.

Mr. Willock of Madras has been appointed manager of the Vizianagram estate, and the Dowager Maharani the guardian of the minor Maharaja.

BURMA.—On the night of the 11th October a gang of 25 Burmese, led by a Buddhist monk, and armed with knives, made an attack on the fort at Mandalay, but were driven off, after four of them had been killed and four wounded. Eleven were captured on the spot, and several arrests have since been made. Private M'Lean has succumbed to wounds received on the occasion, but Mrs. Wilson, who was also wounded, has recovered. 16 men of the gang have since been tried, of whom 14 were sentenced to death.

The Viceroy has abandoned his intended tour through Burma during November, in consequence of the troubles on the North-west frontier.

All famine relief operations ceased in Burma in November.

The preliminaries in connection with the commission for demarcating the Burmo-Chinese frontier having been settled with the Chinese Commissioner, Brigadier Lin, at Moulmein, two fully equipped parties, Mr. Thirkwell White, Mr. Warry, Major Longe, and Lieut. French-Mullen forming one, and Mr. Hausser, Mr. George, Capt. Renny Tailyour, and Lieut. Scharlich the other, have been despatched to the Ta-ping river, whence one party will proceed Northwards, and the other to the South.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has ordered the arrest of any Afridi mullahs or tribesmen who may appear at Kabul, and has issued a proclamation at Jalalabad forbidding any of his subjects leaving the country to join in a *Jehād*, under penalty of a fine of a thousand rupees.

BELUCHISTAN.—The Lehri and Bangalzai Sirdars have come into Quetta. These men, it will be remembered, had fled to Shorawak with 100 sowars at the time Mehrullah Khan and Yār Muhammad were arrested. Sirdar Rasul Bakhsh Langav, who accompanied them, has also submitted.

The agent of the Governor General left Quetta at the end of October with an escort, for Khelat.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The construction of the road across the Ak-baital Pass, in the Pamirs, at a height of more than 15,000 feet, which was undertaken in July last, has been completed, and another road has now been made near the natural boundary of the Karney-Tata.

Great ravages have been caused among the population of Tashkend by malarial disease, which has been prevalent at times for the last four years.

CEYLON.—The Governor of Ceylon opened the Session of the Legislature on the 5th November.

The Tamil community in Colombo is taking steps to secure the reappointment of Mr. Coomaraswamy to the Tamil seat in the Ceylon Legislative Council.

The celebrated Bo-tree shrine at Kalutara has been demolished, as the site it occupied is required by the Government for railway purposes.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The revenue for 1897 was estimated at \$4,753,650 and expenditure \$4,689,000. In 1896 the imports were \$186,196,932, and the exports \$161,177,519; this is irrespective of the protected Malay States, whose revenue in 1896 was \$8,434,000 and trade \$50,000,000.

SIAM.—The King of Siam left England finally in October, and after making a tour through Spain and Portugal, returned home via the Suez Canal.

BRITISH BORNEO.—The settlement of the Ambong was attacked by the notorious Mat Salleh, and the Residency was burnt down, but no loss of life occurred.

CHINA.—It is stated that the Chinese Government has finally accepted the terms of the Hooley-Jameson syndicate for a loan of £16,000,000.

A credit of 191,000 piastres has been assigned by the French Governor-General of Indo-China to the railway from Dong-dang to the Chinese frontier.

On the 14th Nov. the city and harbour of Kiao-chau on the S.E. coast of Shantung was seized by a German squadron as a measure of reprisal for the murder of two German missionaries; the Chinese garrison offering no resistance. As one of the consequences of this act Russia has occupied Port Arthur, with the consent of the Chinese Government.

Sir Claude Macdonald has obtained the recognition of the treaty right of imports to travel freely under transit pass on payment of 2½ per cent., which for 40 years the Chinese authorities had set at defiance.

JAPAN.—The imports of Japan for 1896 amounted to 18¼ million sterling, and the exports to 12¾ millions. The trade with the British Empire exceeded 14 millions sterling, of which five-sevenths were imports to Japan.

The Spanish Government has sent more reinforcements to the PHILIPPINES, where the insurgents are giving trouble.

A great fire has occurred at Manila, causing much damage, and a disastrous cyclone has visited the island of Leyte also causing great loss of life and immense damage.

PERSIA.—The Shah has given £T400 for the wounded of the Turkish army. The Government claims satisfaction from the Turkish Government

for the Kurdish outrages committed last August, during which nine villages were sacked and 300 inhabitants killed.

Mr. Graves, a Superintendent of Telegraphs on the Mekran coast, has been brutally murdered whilst on an inspection near Jask. The authorities are taking measures to arrest the murderers.

Owing to the failure of the Indian trade with Khurassan viâ Bandar Abbas, which has dwindled from £199,000 in 1895 to £90,000 in 1896, it is proposed to open a new route from Quetta viâ Nushki, Seistan, and Birjand.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—An Irade has been issued, sanctioning the formation of a Commission of Enquiry in the Armenian Provinces, for the rebuilding of the churches, monasteries, schools and mosques destroyed during the late troubles. The Commission is composed of a Gregorian, a Catholic and a Greek Armenian, and four Muhammadans.

The Armenian Patriarch has received from the Government a sum of £11,000 in part payment of £12,000 promised as a contribution towards the fund in aid of the distressed Armenians.

A petition has been addressed to the Queen by a body of Jewish artisans of Jerusalem praying Her Majesty to permit the establishment of a Jewish agricultural settlement in Cyprus.

**EGYPT.**—Sir Francis Grenfell took command of the army of occupation on 7th Oct. The Sirdar has devoted his energies to opening the road between Berber and Suakin and completing the railway from Abu Hamed to Berber. Armed steamers have several times made reconnaissances at Metemmeh and damaged the forts, which the Dervishes repaired after each withdrawal. It is reported that the Khalifah has considerable forces at Omdurman, and is there constructing an entrenched camp.

Kassala with its guns and ammunition has been taken over from the Italian Government.

The Council of Ministers has decided upon the extension of the Wady Halfa Railway from Abu Hamed to Berber, the cost being estimated at £200,000.

The Budget for 1898 was presented by Sir E. Palmer to the Council of Ministers. It balanced at £1,610,440,000. The estimates of the War Ministry show an increase of about £150,000 on account of the Sudan operations.

Ahmed Fuad, editor of a native paper at Cairo, has been sentenced to twenty months imprisonment and a fine of £30 for a poem reflecting on the Khedive, and Sheikh Manfalouti to twelve months imprisonment for being implicated in the publication.

**TUNIS.**—The treaties and conventions of every kind in force between Great Britain and France are now, according to an agreement lately concluded, extended to the regency of Tunis. British cotton goods are not to be taxed above 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, and they will be charged with no other import whatsoever. This provision is to remain in force until the end of 1912.

**ABYSSINIA.**—Her Majesty the Queen has conferred the order of K.C.M.G. on H.M. Menelik II., Emperor of Ethiopia.

The Imperial Russian Geographical Society has fitted out and sent an

expedition to Abyssinia, under the leadership of M. Dmitrieff, for purposes of anthropological research.

It is reported that Somaliland is being ravaged by Abyssinian Christians and Muhammadan Gallas under the command of Ras Makonnen.

EAST AFRICA.—The first hundred miles of the UGANDA railway has been completed to the high lands of Kikuyu, and the line opened for traffic,

News from Kikuyu says that Mr. Hall, the Government Agent there, has sent 1,200 men with a quantity of grain to join Major MacDonald, who is on his way to the interior, and had already passed Njemps on Lake Baringo. The Sudanese troops with Major MacDonald's expedition refused to accompany him when he left the Uganda main road, and afterwards, aided by Muhammadan Waganda, attacked him in Usoga, but were defeated. Large forces of Waganda and Wasoga have joined Major MacDonald, who is still blockading Fort Lubwar.

A Regiment of Bombay Infantry has left Bombay for Mombasa.

An expedition under Major Ternan, the Acting Commissioner of Uganda, left Mengo (Uganda) in consequence of the escape of Mwanga, the chief of Mengo, to the province of Budu. A severe fight ensued, with great loss on both sides, before the King fled.

MADAGASCAR.—A recently established French post has been attacked by Sakalavas, who killed three officers and several men. The last of the rebel chiefs, with 1,000 men, was besieged in Masokoamena.

The Imports for 1896 amounted to Fcs. 12,787,000; of this amount Fcs. 5,749,000 came from England, and Fcs. 3,280,000 from France.

The seat of Government is to be removed to Tamatave.

TRANSVAAL.—The Government have been defeated again by the Volksraad having rejected the President's proposal to confirm certain police regulations.

Great excitement occurred in Krugersdorp, in connection with a circular published by a Mr. Smith offering free farms to farmers willing to trek to Rhodesia and settle there. After some fifteen farmers had signed papers accepting these terms, Mr. Smith was attacked by the mob, and with difficulty made his escape.

RHODESIA.—The first train arrived at Bulawayo on the 19th October, and the line was opened with great ceremony on the 4th November by Sir A. Milner.

Dinizulu, son of Cetewayo, and the other exiled Zulu chiefs, have been allowed to return to their own country, from St. Helena, their place of detention.

The King of Swaziland has sent a deputation to England to lay before the Government grievances from which the Swazis are alleged to be suffering under the Convention of December 1894, between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic.

NATAL.—Mr. Escombe, the Premier, though lately returned at the head of the poll, has resigned office. A new Ministry has been formed, with Mr. Binns as Premier and Colonial Secretary.

CAPE COLONY.—The Cape imports for the third quarter of 1897 were £4,353,677, a decrease of £202,590 compared with last year. The exports, including Transvaal gold, were £4,914,731, an increase of £611,445.

**GOLD COAST.**—Several engagements have taken place between the Hausa forces and the Sofas. Samory is in a strong position to the North-west of Segu Skoro in the bend of the Niger surrounded by a circle of fortified posts occupied by the Touaregs, with whom he is reconciled. He is said to have 12,000 troops, drilled in European fashion. Later news received from Kintampo says that Major Jenkinson occupied Bona without opposition, and that the chief Samory was concentrating his forces upon Kong.

**LAGOS.**—A French expedition of 500 soldiers and 2,000 carriers having left the Dahomy coast for Niki in the Lagos *Hinterland*, a British force occupied various posts on the North-west frontier. The Baribas attacked a body of 80 Hausas commanded by Captain Homfrey, but were defeated, losing 300 in killed and wounded.

The French are reported to have recruited a cavalry force 1,000 strong from the Saij district. A force of 100 Senegalese has arrived at Porto Novo.

Negotiations with France, relating to the delimitation of boundaries in West Africa, are being conducted in Paris, when it is hoped the whole question of the *Hinterland* frontiers will be settled.

The Germans were said to be recruiting Hausas in the Lagos Colony.

**WEST AFRICA: NIGER.**—Major Arnold with a force of Royal Niger constabulary proceeded against Prince Arku, the rebel son of the King of Igarra, who is one of the worst slave raiders in the Niger countries, and who was entrenched at Kiffi, four days' march from the capital Idda. The stronghold was stormed and eventually burnt, Arku escaping into the bush and his people losing heavily.

The King of Benin has been sent to Old Calabar. Of the six chiefs found directly responsible for the massacre, one died before trial, two committed suicide and two were executed. One chief is still at large. The King does not appear to have been implicated in the massacre.

The revenue of **SIERRA LEONE** for 1896 was £97,109, of which £76,888 was derived from Customs duties, whilst the expenditure was £116,183, an excess due principally to the cost of the Anglo-French Boundary Commission. The value of the imports was £494,688, four-fifths of which were from the United Kingdom. A Protectorate was proclaimed in August over the adjacent territories within the British sphere of influence, the area of which is about 30,000,000 square miles and the population nearly half a million.

**CONGO.**—Lieut. Henry has gained a decisive victory over the rebels of the Dhani expedition in the neighbourhood of Lake Albert Nyanza.

A report is current that a German expedition which had been sent to punish the M'Boulies, a tribe in the interior, had met with a serious disaster. This tribe inhabits both the French and German territory, and their number is estimated to be about 15,000.

**CANADA.**—The Canadian Government has notified to the United States Government in regard to the sealing question that she cannot consent to a year's suspension of pelagic sealing, but is willing to agree to the appointment of a joint commission to which all pending questions shall be referred.

The Dominion Government has intimated that the reciprocal tariff will, until Aug. 1, 1898, be applied to importations from Belgium, Germany, France, Algeria, French colonies, Argentina, Austria-Hungary, Bolivia, Colombia, Denmark, Persia, Russia, Sweden, Tunis, Venezuela, and Switzerland, as well as to Great Britain, New South Wales, and British India.

With reference to rumours of a Commercial Treaty with the United States, the Premier has stated "that there is no intention whatever of negotiating any reciprocity treaty which would interfere with or affect Canada's existing British preferential tariff."

In the speech from the Throne in the Ontario Legislature, opened on November 30, regret was expressed that the United States Congress had increased the duties on pine and other lumber to such an extent as to make it almost impossible to continue sending to the United States some qualities of pine produced in the province.

The crop of Ontario for last year was the best that has been recorded for many years. The value of the farm products during the last 14 years has averaged \$110,467,836, but last year the average was exceeded by \$25,000,000.

Mr. Thomas Wardlaw, Q.C., Chief Justice of Manitoba, has been granted by the Queen the dignity of a knight.

The Manitoba Government declares its intention of resisting strenuously any attempted encroachments on the National School system.

The North-West territories situated between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains have been formed into a province, and a Cabinet has been constituted, of which Mr. F. W. Haultain is Premier.

The Government of Newfoundland under the premiership of Sir William Whiteway having been defeated early in November, a new Cabinet was formed as follows: Sir James Winter, Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Alfred Morine, Receiver-General; and Mr. Alex. Robinson, Colonial Secretary. The present Government has already, by abolishing offices and discharging officials, effected a saving of \$30,000 annually.

The Legislative Assembly opens this month (January), when the Government will propose a commission of enquiry as to the conversion of the Colonial debt. Rigid economy in the public service is promised.

AUSTRALASIA, NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the third quarter of 1897 shows a falling off in receipts of £166,258 as compared with the corresponding quarter of 1896.

The gold produced during the same period amounted to 94,991 ozs., making the total for the three quarters 222,240 ozs.

The Premier, in delivering his Budget statement, showed that the revenue for 1896-97 had exceeded his estimates. The expenditure amounted to £9,505,000; deducting this sum from the receipts, including the balance brought forward, there was a surplus of £120,000. He estimated the revenue for 1897-98 at £9,331,467, and expenditure £9,392,082.

The Legislative Council has rejected a Bill for providing free primary education.



VICTORIA.—Sir George Turner, the Premier, Mr. J. A. Isaacs, Attorney-General, and Mr. A. J. Peacock, Chief Secretary, were returned unopposed at the general election.

The yield of gold for September last amounted to 68,052 ozs.

A great fire broke out in Melbourne on the 20th November, which destroyed some of the largest business houses in the city. The damage is estimated at a million sterling. A destructive dust-storm visited the north-west part of the colony the day before.

The Federal Convention was adjourned last September till this month.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the third quarter of 1897 amounted to £1,069,000, showing a decrease of £74,000, principally due to deferred payment of pastoral holdings rents. There was an increase of £9,000 in railway receipts. The expenditure was £555,000, showing an increase of £23,000.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—At the opening of Parliament in October last, Sir Gerard Smith, the Governor, stated that the colony's prospects were excellent, and the financial credit, excellent. The revenue for the year ending June 30, 1897, had amounted to £2,842,751, against £1,858,695 in the previous year, and there was a credit balance of £315,362.

NEW ZEALAND.—In his Budget statement, in October last, the Premier said that the year showed satisfactory results. The surplus for the previous year amounted to £354,000. The ordinary revenue for 1897 was estimated at £4,793,000, and the expenditure at £4,623,000. The estimated total surplus being £524,000, it was proposed that of this sum £300,000 should be spent on public works, and £120,000 on old age pensions. The statement contained a proposal for the establishment of a beet sugar industry. The debt had increased during six years by £5,536,000, of which £4,622,000 was reproductive, and £914,000 not directly reproductive.

The exports during 1896-97 show an increase of nearly £950,000 as compared with 1894-95. The imports show a still greater increase of £1,044,700, or between 15 and 16 per cent. The customs returns show an increase of £177,192.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of Colonel H. L. Searle, R.M.A., retired (Baltic);—Major W. B. Graham (Afghanistan 1879-80, Egypt 1882, Miranzai 1891);—Lieut. H. A. Harington (at Rambat Pass);—Lieut. A. H. Turner, Niger Coast Protectorate;—Mr. G. Rigler, R.N., Fleet Engineer (Alexandria and Egyptian War);—Lieut.-Col. O'Bryen, (Afghanistan, Burma, Chitral) and Lieut. W. C. Browne Clayton, killed in the Mohmand country;—Major P. B. Baldwin, R.E., Madras Army;—Colonel A. W. Foord, late Madras Army;—Major A. Burton;—Raja Bahadur Mahaut Balaram Dass, of the Raja-Mandgoan State;—Professor Francis W. Newman, a great student of Oriental philosophy;—General W. A. McCleverty (India and New Zealand);—Captain G. P. Hazelgrove, R.A.;—Lieut. W. H. R. Dawson, R.A., at Hong Kong; Lieut. Spencer Clay, Maywar Bhil Corps;—Lieut. R. A. Milward-Jones, at Murree;—Captain H. Thurburn, late Madras Army;—Major W. E. Peterswald, in South Australia;—The Hon. 'Abdullah Mihr

'Ali Dharamsi, a prominent Bombay Muhammadan ;—Mr. Nur Muhammad Jairazbhoy, a philanthropic Parsi of Bombay ; General G. Erskine (Crimea) ; —Don Pascual de Gayangos, the celebrated Anglo-Spanish bibliographer and Arabic scholar ;—Colonel J. R. Collins, c.B. (New Zealand, Afghan 1878-80 wars, and Sudan) ;—Captain T. F. Jones, killed at Jamrud ;—Major-General R. B. P. P. Campbell, c.B., late Commandant Corps of Guides (Mutiny N.W. Frontier and Afghan wars) ;—Major-General Sir J. M. Nuttall, K.C.B., Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny) ;—Major-General E. N. Sandilands, Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny) ; Sir John Campbell Orde, formerly of the 42nd Highlanders ;—Sir P. le Page Renouf, an eminent Egyptologist ;—Lieut.-Colonel, the Hon. C. Powys (Panjab 1848-49) ;—Major R. D. Jennings-Bramly (Chitral 1895), killed at Chagru Kotal ;—Major-General J. Wilkinson (Kandian rebellion 1848) ; Captain W. T. Rivers, R.N. (China 1841-42) ; Surgeon-General W. R. Cornish, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Hon. Physician to the Queen (late Madras Army) ;—Major Charles Bellew Judge of the 2nd Goorkhas (Black Mountain and Hazara expeditions) killed at the storming of the Dargai Ridge on 20th October, he was a nephew of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and of the late Dr. H. W. Bellew ;—Captain W. E. C. Smith, killed at Dargai ;—Lieut. A. Lamont, killed at Dargai ;—The Hon. Henry Cavendish, of the Tochi Field Force ;—Mr. Justice J. Rouillard, of the Mauritius ;—The Hon. D. Logan, member of the Legislative Council, Straits Settlements ; King Gharthey IV. of Winnebah, West Africa ;—Lieut.-Colonel R. Wallen-Jones (India and Turkey) ;—Major-General E. N. Sandilands, Bengal Staff Corps ;—Captain J. G. Robinson, from wounds received at Dargai ;—Major M. W. Battye (Afghan war 1878-80) ;—Dr. A. Milton Ross, an eminent Canadian physiologist and naturalist ;—Surgeon-Major-General Sir W. A. Mackinnon, K.C.B., LL.D. (Crimea, Mutiny and New Zealand) ;—Surgeon-General R. Gilborne (Crimea and Mutiny) ;—Colonel J. R. M. Chard, v.C. (the hero of Rorke's Drift) ;—Major-General F. Mould, late R.E. (New Zealand) ;—Captain A. W. Cotton (Sudan 1885) ;—Surgeon-Major E. J. Burton (Crimea) ; Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., formerly Minister in China and Japan ;—Lord Rosmead, late Governor and High Commissioner of Cape Colony ;—Lieut.-Colonel W. Kennedy, late of Montreal Engineers ;—Rana Sir Shunkur Bakhsh, K.C.I.E. ;—Lieut.-Col. the Hon. R. Anderson Ramsay (First Afghan campaign and mutiny) ;—Mr. C. E. Fox, late Master in Equity, Bombay High Court ;—Captain E. Y. Watson, I.S.C., of wounds in Tirah (Burma 1886-87, and Chin-Lushai) ;—Sir W. J. Montgomery Cuninghame, Bart., v.C. (Crimea) ;—Captain E. C. Symons, R.N. (Mozambique, Baltic, Mutiny, China, etc.) ;—Major-General N. R. Burlton, late I.S.C. (Sonthal campaign, Mutiny, Bhootan, Abyssinia and Afghanistan 1878-80) ;—Major-General R. Preston, c.B. (Crimea and China) ;—Professor W. Heinrich von Riehl, a well-known historian ;—Captain N. A. Lewarne and Lieutenants G. M. Wylie, R. E. A. Hales, R. M. Battye, and Crooke, killed in action in Tirah ;—Major-General C. Herbert, Bengal Staff Corps (Attock) ;—Captain Clochette, a French officer late in the service of King Menelik ;—General W. D. Aitken, R.A. (Persia and Mutiny) ;—General C. L. Montgomery,

late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Captain T. R. M'Crea De Butts, R.A., killed at Samphaga (Burma, 1886-87); Major A. B. Thruston, murdered in the Uganda Protectorate;—Admiral S. H. Derriman, C.B. (Crimea);—General Sir A. J. Herbert, K.C.B. (Crimea);—Admiral Sir A. Phillimore, K.C.B. (China, etc.);—General W. H. Askwith, R.A.;—General J. Buchanan (Mutiny); Lieut. D. E. O. Jones, killed in Tirah;—Captain H. C. Prichard (Soudan, 1885);—General Forgemol de Bostquenard (Tunis and Algeria); Lieut.-Colonel O. Willans (Crimea);—Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Straghan (Jowaki, 1877; Afghan Campaign, 1878);—Colonel G. F. MacDonald, at Toronto;—Major-General W. B. Thomson, late Bengal Army;—Surgeon-Captain J. Murray, Professor at Lahore Medical College;—Major-General T. Fendall, I.S.C.;—Captain E. E. Robertson (Afghanistan, 1879);—Colonel J. C. J. Lowry (Crimea and Mutiny);—Sir William E. Maxwell, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Gold Coast;—Genl. Sir Henry Lyne-  
doch Gardiner, K.C.B.;—Lt. J. L. Powys, 1st Oxfordshire Light Infantry (at Swaikot);—Lord Clarina (Indian Mutiny, capture of Gwalior);—Lt. Gen. W. H. Greenwell Palmer (late Madras Staff Corps);—James Kellie, Esq., late Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, Madras Army;—Major-General Jermyn Charles Symonds, late R.M.L.I. (Baltic expedition, 1855, China, North Taku forts);—Benjamin Moore (for many years a resident of Calcutta);—E. Stutely Tanner, B.C.S., late scholar of Queen's College, Oxford (æt. 23);—Major-General Sir John Coke, K.C.B. (Mutiny, including siege of Delhi).

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AGRICULTURAL BANKS FOR INDIA—  
PRACTICAL EXPERIMENTS WANTED.

BY SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART., M.P.

SPEAKING a few days ago, in the debate on the Address, regarding the distressed condition of the Indian peasantry, Lord George Hamilton made the following declaration in the House of Commons: "As regards legislation, the Government are only waiting for a quiet time to consider a number of proposals for the purpose of freeing the people as far as possible from the influence of the money-lenders. I hope we shall be able to set up some system of local banks for the assistance of the natives." This announcement has not a very positive ring about it, but I welcome it as bringing the question of agricultural banks once more within the sphere of practical politics. It was in the year 1883 that, under the auspices of Mr. John Bright, I read before "the East India Association" at Exeter Hall, a paper entitled "The Poona Raiyat's Bank," in which I set forth a scheme of an experimental or pioneer bank for the benefit of the struggling peasantry. The argument was stated as follows at the opening of the Paper: "Though land banks have prospered in other countries, they are new to India. We have therefore felt, in approaching the present undertaking, that the first thing to be done is to acquire a certain amount of local and special experience by observing the actual working of such an institution in

India. And this it is proposed to do by starting an experimental bank, under good local management, upon a limited scale and within a limited area. For various reasons the Poona district has been selected for the experiment; and the system followed will be that which has been found most successful in practice elsewhere, modifications being gradually introduced as experience may suggest. When trustworthy facts and figures have thus been collected, we shall know what rocks and shoals are most to be avoided, and we shall be in a position to decide in what direction, if any, a business of this kind can be safely and profitably extended." I then gave a brief sketch of the Dekkhan rayat's position, showing how he was crushed and demoralised by his load of debt. Next, I noticed what had been done in Europe, Australia, and Egypt in the matter of agricultural banks; and then I showed how it was proposed to apply similar principles in the case of the Poona experiment. I may summarize the matter by saying (1) That the scheme was based upon the methods of the credit system, as tested by experience in every civilized country in the world: in Germany alone there are more than 2000 of these popular banks at work; (2) That these methods were adapted to local circumstances in the Dekkhan, and were accepted by debtor and creditor alike: there was to be a settlement of old debts, with a cheap and simple mode of recovery from the crop of the year; and (3) That the scheme was approved by every authority in India, including the Viceroy in Council, and by all public opinion both in India and in this country. It will thus be seen that as long ago as 1883, I was praying for immediate action by means of practical experiment. I have been urging immediate action ever since. But, unfortunately, instead of action, there has only been talk and correspondence; interminable controversy on speculative questions, but nothing has been done.

What I have to say now is mainly a repetition of what I have advocated all these years; to show what has been

attempted, and why it has failed ; and then to submit the proposition that there has been sufficient academic discussion and that practical experiment should be no longer delayed.

At the Exeter Hall meeting Mr. Bright opened the proceedings with the following weighty remarks : " These small cultivators in India if they borrow money from the Native bankers of the district, pay a rate of interest which in England we should feel to be altogether destructive to any industry ; 12 per cent. is, for them, a moderate rate ; some pay 24 and some undertake or engage to pay as much perhaps as 30 or 36 per cent. It is obvious that capital employed in agriculture in any country must be absolutely unprofitable to the cultivator. if he has to pay a rate of interest even of the middle sum, or 24 per cent. The scheme before us purposes to offer to the Indian cultivator a reasonable loan on reasonable interest, and to improve the mode of the latter's annual collection, so as to avoid going through the Courts and ruining a man who finds he is behind in the regular payment of his interest. The native bankers who lend money at these extreme rates of interest are themselves sensible that it would be an advantage to them if the rate of interest were lower, the security better, and if the interest would be collected in some manner which would cause less suffering to the borrower and to the tenant. They are, therefore, willing to contribute to a large extent funds which shall enable some banking system to be established which shall give this great relief to the native population of India. . . . The political prospect in India would be greatly improved if such a scheme as this could succeed, because if you have a vast population in a state of constant distress they must be in a state of constant discontent. . . . If it were possible by some large and widely extended scheme of this kind to bring comfort into the homes of the cultivators there can be no doubt that with better prospects in their families there would be a greater degree of contentment,

and they would look with more satisfaction to the Government which controls their affairs." Mr. Bright was followed by Sir James Caird, one of the highest authorities on all land questions, who had recently returned from India, where he had served on the Famine Commission. He entirely approved of the experiment being made in the Dekkhan, and held that the scheme, by facilitating the digging of wells, would operate as an important preservative against famine. Other experienced speakers followed, and the debate was strongly favourable to the scheme; and next day the *Times*, *Daily News*, *Standard*, and other London papers gave their approval to the proposal. A short time afterwards, at the invitation of the Directors, I read a Paper before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, with Mr. G. Lord the Chairman in the Chair, on "Government Concessions to Agricultural Banks in India." A resolution in cordial support of the scheme was moved, carried unanimously and forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Subsequently I had an interview with Sir Nathaniel Rothschild, M.P. (now Lord Rothschild), who had already expressed himself interested in the subject. He informed me that if the terms agreed to by the India Office were satisfactory he would favourably consider the scheme, and he did not think there would be difficulty in raising the necessary capital.

It is now necessary briefly to indicate the genesis of the scheme in India, and to show the support which it received both from the public and from the Government in that country. The idea of agricultural banks was first mooted in Bombay as early as 1860, when Lord Elphinstone's Government passed a resolution in favour of loan banks which should advance money to the rayats on fair terms. It was not, however, till 1882 that the project took practical shape at Poona. After much careful inquiry, many local meetings, and prolonged negotiations with those concerned, a scheme was at last agreed upon which received the hearty co-operation of all parties interested;

the rayats, the money-lenders, the native capitalists, and the promoters of the enterprise. A public meeting was then held at Poona, under the presidency of the Collector of the District, resolutions were passed for the establishment of an experimental agricultural bank, and an influential Committee was appointed to carry it through. This Committee waited upon the Governor (Sir James Fergusson) and set forth their proposals for an experimental bank in the Purandhar Taluka of the Poona Collectorate. His Excellency received the deputation in a very cordial manner, expressed himself personally favourable to the scheme, and promised that he and his colleagues would give it their best consideration. Accordingly the scheme was forwarded to the Viceroy in Council, whom it reached at a favourable moment. The Indian Government, as the general landlord, had always desired to help the rayat with loans for land improvement. But from various causes the attempt to make these advances through official agency had failed in every part of India. And the Government had at last come to the conclusion that it must look to private enterprise for any real progress in this direction. The Marquis of Ripon was then Viceroy, and Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), who was Finance Minister, had personal experience of agricultural banks, so that the Poona scheme received immediate and sympathetic consideration, as providing the exact means desired to carry out the Government policy. A very important despatch, No. 638 of 5th December, 1882, was sent from Simla to the Bombay Government, expressing the satisfaction of the Viceroy in Council with the proposals made, and setting forth in detail the action which the Government were prepared to take. Subject to certain minor conditions the Government of India accepted the Poona proposals. They were willing to grant important concessions on the lines of those allowed to agricultural banks in Europe; but at the same time they were careful to explain to the



Bombay Government that similar privileges would not necessarily be granted in future to other similar banks. The Poona bank was, in fact, treated as a pioneer enterprise, the object being to make a practical experiment in a limited area, with the hope that when the system was once established it would spread wherever needed, and, to use the words of the despatch, "prove of incalculable benefit to the whole country." In conclusion, the Government of India stated that they attached very great importance to the experiment, and asked the Bombay Government to undertake the working of the measure. In reply the Bombay Government, in their despatch of 5th April, 1883, stated their willingness to give the scheme a trial. In this way, after no little labour and negotiation, every interest and every authority in India was brought into substantial agreement as regards the scheme — and on 31st of May 1884, a unanimous despatch signed by the Viceroy and his colleagues, was forwarded to England setting forth fully the circumstances of the case, and asking the sanction of the Secretary of State to the proposed experiment. "We are anxious," they said, "to give effect to a scheme which we believe to be advocated on purely disinterested grounds, which can, under the experimental conditions proposed, be carefully watched, and which is likely, if successful, to be productive of much benefit to the country."

I think I have now shown that as long ago as 1884 public opinion, official and unofficial, had declared itself sufficiently in favour of a practical experiment, and I can claim that even then there was no excuse for any further delay. Nothing was done, and what is worse, nothing has been done during the fourteen years that have since elapsed. Not even the smallest practical beginning has been made. Then, as now, the mass of the Indian peasantry were in great destitution, and in chronic danger of famine, having no store of food, or money, or credit. They not only possessed nothing, but less than nothing, for

they were deeply in debt to the money-lenders. To rescue them from this hopeless indebtedness a practical remedy, tested by long and varied experience, was proposed. In India the authorities were desirous of giving this remedy a trial in a cautious experimental way; all public opinion in India and in England had declared itself in favour of the movement. Only the formal sanction of the India Office at Westminster was required; but this, unfortunately, was just what we could not obtain; the India Office raising a fruitless controversy regarding hypothetical difficulties; and eventually in 1887 refusing absolutely to allow the experiment to be made. In reply to a question in the House of Commons Mr. S. Smith was informed that the Secretary of State in Council had carefully considered these proposals "with the result that it was determined that they were not capable of practicable application." Was there ever a more extraordinary answer or decision? These gentlemen sitting at Westminster had not been in India for years, some never there at all; they were not practical bankers; they had no special knowledge either of the continental system, or of the financial requirements of the Poona district where the experiment was to be made. Yet they assumed to know what was practicable there better than the bankers of Poona and the Government of Bombay; and they would not trust the Viceroy in Council to make an experiment, on a limited scale in a limited area, to which he "attached very great importance."

After a further period of five years I again made an attempt to get some action taken. In May 1892 I read, before the Society of Arts, a paper on "The Reorganization of Agricultural Credit in India," when I urged that the time for academic discussion was long past, and that a pioneer bank should be started. But at the same time I took the opportunity to reply to the objections raised by the India Office to the Poona scheme. These objections are set forth in the Despatch No. 95 of 22nd October 1884, and it will be found that they refer to matters of detail, and are

of a speculative kind. For example, it is objected that the scheme professes to be one of private enterprise, whereas in reality the bank will be a Government institution ; again it is contended that the financial calculations of the Poona bankers do not show that the business will be profitable ; and it is argued that the condition of the rayat is either too good or too bad to be suitable for the operations of an agricultural bank. The only objection that can at all be called a practical one is that which has reference to the coercion of defaulting debtors, and this objection is founded on a misconception. The despatch takes exception to the proposed concession under which the bank's advances may, in the case of a defaulter, be recovered as a revenue demand. This is only objected to from the fear, to use the words of the despatch, lest Government should "incur all the unpopularity and odium of collecting debts, which, though private obligations, are treated as public demands." This objection evidently arises from a misapprehension, the Secretary of State being under the impression that the Government in India proposed to undertake the duty of collecting the bank's advances. There could not be a greater mistake. Both the distribution and collection of the bank's advances was to be done entirely by the paid agents of the bank. The question was one of jurisdiction, not of collection. With its moderate rates of interest, and with its desire to show forbearance to its debtors, the bank expected very seldom to require any compulsory process. Still, for cases of contumacy, it was necessary that some ultimate means of coercion should exist ; the only question being whether this compulsion should come through the costly and cumbrous machinery of the Civil Court, with its lawyers and bailiffs, warrants and executions, and sales of land ; or whether it should come through the simpler and cheaper methods of the revenue process, in which case the village officers would exercise their customary authority, preventing the defaulter removing his crops until he had paid the instalment due to the bank. All that the Government of

India proposed was that when compulsion was required, the less grievous method should be preferred, the method which Government itself employed when recovering its own agricultural advances from defaulters. As regards "unpopularity and odium" arising from coercive process, Government will have to bear that, whether the jurisdiction is exercised in the Judicial or in the Revenue department. The masses in India make no distinction between the Revenue and the Judicial departments; to them these two departments are equally the "Sirkar" or ruling power; while the educated classes know that the Executive Government, as the sole legislative power, is responsible equally for the constitution of the Courts and the revenue administration. The only difference is that if the Revenue Machinery is employed there will be less friction and less hardship, and consequently the unpopularity falling upon Government will be less in amount.

In this debate Sir Charles Bernard, Revenue Secretary at the India Office, took part. He expressly stated that he did not speak on behalf of the India Office, but at the same time his responsible position there gives importance to what he said. He spoke kindly of the scheme and its promoters, but dwelt upon the objections raised in the despatch, and added one or two fresh ones, such as the large area of the proposed experiment, and the difficulty of settling the old debts. He at the same time gave the headings of concessions which he thought might be granted, and expressed a hope that a revised scheme might be brought forward. I really do not think we shall gain by any further argument regarding these objections. My point at present is not that I am right in this controversy and that my opponents are wrong. My point is that it is only by actual experiment that it can be satisfactorily proved who is right and who is wrong. Do not let us go on like the mediæval philosophers with their problem of the live fish and the full bowl of water. Half of them, arguing from the inherent properties of matter, held that if the fish

was put into the full bowl the water would not overflow. The other half, relying on first principles, held that it would; and they would have been arguing to the present day if the king, being a man of a practical turn of mind, had not ordered the experiment to be made. So I say, let us go to work at once. If on actual trial the proposed area is found to be inconveniently large, let it be reduced; if the settlement of old debts is found impracticable, try some other device; if recourse to summary revenue process is found to be so often necessary as to cause public inconvenience, we shall be willing to admit that our proposal in this respect is not justified. But what I do maintain is that our scheme, carefully worked out, approved by the local people, and accepted by the Government of India, was entitled to a fair trial. The recommendation of so high a financial authority as Sir E. Baring should not have been brushed aside in this summary way, supported as it was by his successor, Sir Auckland Colvin, who was equally prepared to find the funds necessary for the experiment.

That this is the only right and rational mode of proceeding is proved, if any further proof is needed, by the further waste of 5 years' time since 1892. On the 15th of March 1892 the Madras Government placed Mr. F. A. Nicholson "on special duty for the purpose of inquiring into the possibility of introducing into this Presidency a system of Agricultural or other Land Banks." Here is the old error over again: the fish and the bowl. Can the authorities not see that the only way of ascertaining "the possibility of introducing" agricultural banks is to begin introducing them; that we shall never learn to swim if we refuse to go into the water? What has been the result of Mr. Nicholson's appointment? He has produced two large folio volumes, one of 400 and one of 300 closely-printed pages. But I cannot find that in these 5 years any practical beginning has been made. The only result of his labours is that he has now realized the truth that we have been declaring for the last 15 years. This is how he closes his 2nd report,

of 28th July 1896: "The writers' motto for the initiation of village banks continues to be 'Solvitur ambulando'; great measures are always impossible till they are found to be successful, and success depends upon incessant experiment, perseverance, and courage; the problem is insoluble till it is attacked in actual experiment."

There is the truth in a nutshell. Success depends upon incessant experiment: the problem is insoluble till it is attacked in actual experiment. This is what Lord George Hamilton should take to heart. He tells us that he hopes to be able to set up some system of agricultural banks. But this will never be done if he continues to proceed in the way the India Office has done for the last 15 years. As regards the future, a heavy responsibility lies upon the Secretary of State in Council. He has crushed our scheme and substituted nothing in its place. He is now bound to take the initiative; and I would ask him to profit by the advice of Mr. Nicholson and set going practical experiments in different parts of India, relying not only, or mainly, on European official action, but consulting with the people, and obtaining the co-operation of all that is best in the Indian community.

## THE MONETARY CRISIS AND INDIA.

BY J. H. TWIGG, B.C.S. (RET.).

THE recent decision of the Cabinet that the bimetallic proposals of France and the United States should be rejected and that India must have a gold standard will not dispose of the monetary question, except in the minds of those who think that a gold standard is at hand for India and that England is independent of other nations' action and good will. Instead of settling the question in accordance with our promises to France and America, we have resolved to face difficulties of the highest order both at home and abroad.

Let us look at the facts. In March, 1896, the British House of Commons unanimously resolved that Government "should do all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable par of exchange between gold and silver." On that occasion Mr. A. J. Balfour, leader of the House, said, "We will make this great contribution to a bimetallic system—we will re-open the Indian Mints." The words of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were equally clear: "If it be possible," he said, "for other nations to join in a bimetallic agreement which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian Government would be prepared to assist by re-opening the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might by other means endeavour to promote the increase of silver in coinage." Again, in last May Lord Salisbury informed\* the French ambassador that our Government still adhered to this policy, and the Bank of England afterwards agreed to keep one-fifth of its reserve in silver, an arrangement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking at Bristol on October 28 last, said he could conceive "might be attained without decreasing the stock of

\* See Senator Wolcott's speech, "Bimetallist," Feb. 1898.

gold at all." On the invitation of the House of Commons, set forth as above stated, the United States and France jointly proposed to England that, while retaining for herself the gold standard, she should give them the expected assistance, particularly by re-opening the Indian Mints as promised. Besides this there were minor proposals, but they were, as the principal American delegate says, of infinitely smaller importance. The British Government at once sent these proposals to India, and in September last received a reply, recently published, to the effect that the establishment of a gold standard was almost accomplished there, and that the Indian Mints ought not to be re-opened on any terms for silver coinage in aid of the proposed ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, nor at any ratio whatever unless Great Britain joined therein. The Home Government decided not to over-rule so decided a judgment in present circumstances.

Let us now examine the reasons for that judgment. The Governor-General in Council declares that if the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 were established, even temporarily, it would kill the export trade for a time at least. It is true that exports would fall and trade for a time would be disturbed, but few financial reforms are possible without sacrifice of some kind, and in this case we must weigh such temporary losses against permanent gains incomparably greater, not to speak of temporarily improved imports, stimulated especially by exports of silver, which we will presently discuss. Two other objections are stated, but, as we shall see, neither of them has any serious importance.

In the first place it is urged that gold money might be displaced by silver in the bimetallic countries, or that a fear of this might cause gold to be locked up, with the result, in either case, that the ratio might fail and the rupee fall probably below 9 pence. To this we may reply that neither could the ratio fail nor confidence in its stability diminish until silver had been coined in such enormous quantities as to render practically impossible a revival of gold monometallism or a change of ratio in those countries. In such



a position they would probably soon find allies to join them in bimetallism, the improbable failure of which would only mean silver monometallism, the merits of which were not effectively questioned even by so furious a gold partizan as Lord Farrer in giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and are attested by the growing prosperity of silver-using Asia and Mexico. We need not, however, elaborate this argument, for, whatever might befall silver, a simple arrangement noticed by Mr. Leonard Courtney would save the rupee from any such disastrous fall as the Indian Government fears. India, he says, should agree to keep open her mints for silver only so long as the rupee was above 16 pence.

The remaining objection of the Government of India contemplates as a possibility the success of bimetallism with a consequent export of rupees, and expresses the fear that a great resultant fall in the rupee-price of goods would for a long time disorganize trade and increase the real burthen of taxation. To this we reply that the feared export of silver and fall in the price of goods would be much smaller than the Indian Government imagines. If the mints were re-opened to the free coinage of silver in France and America, that metal would go there from all parts of the world, displacing an equal value of gold money till the attainment of equilibrium. From India, however, the exports of silver would be small and tardy in comparison with her vast accumulations, for the rupee could not at first be exported without loss because its value in India, through artificially-produced scarcity, is about 70 per cent. higher than in foreign countries.

It would not then be from India that France and America would first or principally draw silver for coinage. China, Mexico, and other countries where there is no artificial scarcity of silver money would send nearly all. This check on the outflow of silver from India would limit the fall in the price of goods, and there would be yet another limiting influence, not noticed in the despatch, though familiar to

every economist. The rupee-price of the sovereign would be reduced by the bimetallic arrangement from about 15 rupees to 10 rupees, and a superficial critic might suppose that the price of goods would fall in the same proportion. That supposition would no doubt be right if the fall from 15 rupees to 10 rupees for a sovereign were caused merely by the export of silver increasing its scarcity alike in regard to gold and goods. There would, however, be another influence at work, strongly affecting gold and without effect on goods,—to wit, the reduced demand for gold, since silver would take its place extensively in the bimetallic countries.

We have now briefly dealt with the Indian Government's opposition to a bimetallic union, and proceed to consider what is to be said of the assertion that India is on the eve of attaining a gold standard, after the fashion of France and America, whereby, as the Governor-General says, "the expansion and contraction of the currency will be regulated automatically by the inflow and outflow of gold." The examples of France and America cannot be quoted for imitation by India, the circumstances of which are very different. Gold money could not be used in India to any great extent. The currency therefore could not be materially expanded except by an additional supply of rupees, and these would have to be provided from time to time by Government, otherwise the rupee would go to a premium above the fixed rate of exchange. At other times there would be little demand for rupees, and they would fall in value below the fixed rate unless someone were willing to take them at that rate. In France and America such superabundant silver coin is kept at par because in those countries there is always enough of other money to exchange for it, and the total mass of metallic money contracts or expands, as the Governor-General remarks, by an outflow or inflow of gold, whereas India has only token silver money and therefore no means of outflow because such coin cannot be exported without loss. A gold standard with token rupees is therefore impossible in India until arrangements are first made

whereby people may get rupees for sovereigns or sovereigns for rupees at the fixed rate of exchange either from the treasury or indirectly through trade or else by some such management of the foreign exchanges, as an undertaking to pay or receive rupees in India for receipt or payment of gold in London. In order then to secure this exchangeability of the two moneys, Government must provide a stock of each. There is already enough silver coin locked up but no gold, and the question arises, How much will be needed? No one can give a decided answer. It is clear, however, that there are practically but two methods of getting it. One is to buy gold with rupees whenever it is offered at the fixed price of 15 rupees for the sovereign, the other is to borrow gold. Government has, for the present, at least, preferred the slower method of purchase, and this will no doubt give time for estimating more reasonably the amount needed, but that time will be a further period of uncertainty, fluctuating exchange, and danger, both commercial and political. We do not mean that the danger would be averted by borrowing the gold at once, for we believe that the further India goes on its way towards a gold standard, evils will increase out of all proportion to the attainable good, and will continue when the standard is established,—as is possible at a price, like most things. For four years since the mints were closed all the evils which usually accompany a diminished supply of money have gone on increasing till now a crisis without example in Indian history has been reached. Money is almost unobtainable at the great banks which are charging discount of 12 or 14 per cent.

So far we have dealt for the most part with matters that appear in the Governor-Général's despatch. Still more can be said of what does not appear there. He does not explain that the scheme proposed is really an extension, condemned by all economists, of a great experiment commenced in 1873 for increasing the use of gold and limiting silver to token coinage, a course which one of the heads of

the Rothschild house publicly declared would bring unspeakable calamities upon the world. He does not notice how greatly India must suffer in her trade and competition with silver-using countries through the breach of exchange and the artificially high value of the rupee, which are to be permanently established by the gold standard. Another omission must, we think, have been deliberate, and it is so important, not less economically than politically, as to cast serious doubt upon the candour of the Indian Government. A great part of the natives' savings, even among the poorest, is uncoined silver which, up to four years ago, they could turn into coin, weight for weight, at the open mints. Through closure of the mints this silver now sells for little more than half its former price. The consequences, especially in times of distress, are disastrous, and now that Government proposes by a gold standard to make the injury permanent, we can only hope that the more enlightened natives, and public bodies such as municipalities, instead of brooding over these wrongs, will express their views freely for the information of Government before the ignorant classes learn that their rulers look principally to the export trade, which is largely conducted by foreigners, and is not to be compared in volume with the country's internal commerce.

We have thus briefly treated the question mainly as it affects India. Its world-wide importance, which in the words of Mr. Goschen cannot be exaggerated, is beyond the scope of this article, and has received hardly any notice from the Government of India.

It is hard to predict the future, but probably events in India, America, and elsewhere will soon nerve the British Ministry to maintain their own opinions against Indian officialism and against the party which has used the London press (*Times*, November 9, 1897) to vilify as "impudent" proposals invited by our own promises from two great nations.

## THE TEACHING OF TRUE INDIAN HISTORY.

BY J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (RET.).

So much political capital has recently been made out of the aberrations to which the Sivaji cult is said to have given rise in a part of India, that the subject of teaching true History in India has become one of current interest. The belief in a "golden age," before strictly historic times, is not so common in India, as it was in ancient Greece and Rome and is still a hope of the future in Judaism, Christianity and Islám. A Lecturer at "the East India Association" recently contended that the teaching of Indian History in Indian Universities could alone remove this, according to him, hurtful belief. There are certainly popular illusions in India which are misleading and therefore ought to be dispelled. Such is the belief in a tribute that India is said to pay to England. The belief, however, in a golden age is not hurtful. It is one shared by almost every form of Polytheism. Whether it be Horus, or Saturn, or Manu, there has always been a time when men were pious, and the Gods favourable; when the earth brought forth abundantly and to the divine ancestors all things went well. Polytheism looks backward, not forward; this is of its essence. If then the sole object of teaching Indian history in our Colleges were to dispel this illusion, I for one could not agree to it. The belief is a solace and an incitement to good; to destroy it is to kill an immense moral force. One cannot keep a nation's head in chancery.

Indian history should, of course, be taught. I regard it indeed as an essential element in the reform of our Indian educational system: for Indian education requires, above all things, to be moralised, and the study of history is an immense aid in bringing about this transformation. Under history I include not only the strictly historic—but also

the semi- or quasi - historical—the Mahabhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. Moreover, it is not only the history of India as a whole which should be studied ; for that, prior to the advent of the Mahomedans and English, is confined to the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism—exceedingly obscure subjects : but I would also encourage the study of local history—that of individual races—the Rajputs, Mahrattas, etc., especially in their own areas.

The chief end of education is not intellectual but moral—a cardinal truth which we have too much overlooked not only in India but also in England. The chief virtues which men acquire by education are reverence and self-respect. The ancient system of Hindu training put reverence above all things ; herein lay its vitality and force. To the present day I doubt if any better training can be found for a young Hindu than through the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. They are the glories of India, and without them India would be poor indeed. They are the common property of every people and every class. It is true they are not historical works : they are poetry and legend : and what nucleus of truth there may lie hidden in them, it is very hard to say : as hard as to find the kernel of fact in the mediæval romances of Charlemagne's Paladins or the Knights of King Arthur's round table. But it is the business of the teacher to point out what this kernel is, and to treat the rest as romance, as poetry, as legend, a charm, a delight, an exhilaration. To exclude these poems from our system of education is not only the disappointment of a legitimate national aspiration : it is also futile because they will be read outside the schools and Colleges in an utterly credulous and uncritical spirit. To adopt and regulate their study is not only free of danger, it is also a measure of precaution—and, above all, it will supply that very element of reverence which is the basis of other virtues.

After reverence comes self-respect, that sense of regard for others based on what is due to, and from, oneself. And this is best learned by the history of one's own family

and people. *Noblesse oblige*. A self-made man may have plenty of self-satisfaction or conceit; he has seldom a moral dignity of his own. Nations, similarly, have a typical past of which the present is the outcome. For this reason I would advocate the history of individual Indian peoples as a means of supplying the second great moral element in education. A man is justly proud of being a Rajput or a Mahratta. He has the pride of race whether you appeal to it or not. Why then leave it to grow up rank outside the field of education? Why not educate it, show what was good and what was bad in olden times, and so turn to account an element which is at present often prejudicial? A Scotchman is not the less proud of the history of his country because he is a loyal subject of the Queen, and many a Rajput can justly claim a similar distinction. We now omit the strongest elements of human nature from our educational curriculum; they will continue to exist, whether we like it or not; and if we do not turn them to good account, they are often apt to work for evil.

Of course, there are dangers in such a course. The example of the Roman Empire is pregnant with instruction for the English in India: and the Roman Emperors as a rule (Hadrian was the exception) did not care to hear too much about local histories. They treated Greece with unwonted generosity, and they encouraged the study of the Homeric legends. But they did not want too much talk of Harmodius or Miltiades or Epaminondas. Plutarch expressly tells the perfervid civic orators not to introduce Marathon and Salamis too often into their speeches, and always to remember that the sandals of the Roman Governor were above their heads. And so in India the recent glorification of Sivaji *may* have led to a couple of murders, and has certainly not brought much good to the people of Poona.

Everything therefore depends upon the way in which history is taught. At present it is not taught at all, and is used only for political purposes. It is, of course, impossible

to permit any teaching of history which is intended to bring the government or the rulers into contempt. It must be taught in a scientific and historical and not in a chauvinistic and self-glorious vein. It can be so taught not only to Hindus, but also to Mahomedans of whom I have hitherto said little. Mr. Beck, Principal of the well-known College at Aligarh, used to lecture to his Mahomedan students on their history, using extracts from Elliot and Dowson's collection for his text-book ; the students were delighted and their loyalty was certainly not disturbed, but strengthened. They felt proud of their history, and proud also of the greater Empire to which they belonged.

The truth is that, judged by results, our educational policy is perhaps the most signal of failures. We turn out crowds of youths who have passed, or failed to pass, a prescribed standard. They have received a certain amount of intellectual training, and they have a knowledge, often ridiculous enough, of English. They are sceptical, conceited, and irreverent, their parents and friends themselves being witnesses. "What is your opinion of English education?" I once asked a famous native scholar of Bombay and an LL.D. of Leyden. "It teaches boys," he answered, "to say good-morning and good-evening, and to look down upon their parents." These youths are giddy, sufferers from intellectual indigestion, a trouble to themselves, their relatives and the State. They are notoriously discontented ; in many of their circles, native gentlemen have told me, no Englishman and nothing English is ever mentioned without abuse : and they flood the Government with their pretensions and complaints. It is true that they are not dangerous by themselves, but there are circumstances under which they might become an added danger. There is little cause of wonder in such results. We have given an education without moral basis or ideal, and it is not likely that the fruits will be moral. These youths come to us not for education but in the hope of appointments and wealth : they start on the road for the promised



land, but most find themselves left behind in the desert.

Our administrative success in India has been chiefly due to our conservative instincts. We did not set about inventing a new system of government; we adopted the one we found in existence. We systematized it, substituted order for disorder, the good of the many for the benefit of the few. We checked the tyranny of the great if we did not completely destroy it. Doubtless there are still many defects: our system is not sufficiently elastic; it does not afford enough openings for individual ambition and merit. Much remains to be done. But, with certain important modifications, our system is fundamentally the system of Akbar. We have not as yet europeanized Indian administration. In our educational policy, however, we adopted an entirely different course. Instead of a progressive conservatism founded upon native ideas, we made a brand-new departure: we forgot that the first duty of a successful teacher must be to study his pupil. We introduced a new system of education entirely *ab extra*, which was necessarily European, but without the saving elements of European education. To make it fit for everyone we made it so purely intellectual that it is good for no one. The root being bad, the tree and fruit must be bad also.

The Hindus are a sentimental and romantic race: the English practical and matter of fact. It ought to have been the aim of our educational policy to bridge over the gulf. It can be done.\*

\* It was the movement for "The People's own Department of Public Instruction" in the Punjab in 1866, which sought to combine Oriental learning with instruction in European science, that led to similar aspirations in other parts of India. In the province of its birth it created the present Anglo-Oriental Panjab University, the Oriental College and numerous agencies for the spread of vernacular education, but the identification of the various denominations of the people with the Government by means of their own sacred associations, which was the main object for which donations were asked for and received, along with that of the cultivation of "comparative studies," received a check from the "secularizing" tendencies of the Educational Department to which Mr. Kennedy so rightly objects.

—*Ed.*

To preserve what was good of the old, to graft on it what was adaptable and excellent in the new, to bring Englishmen and natives into friendly social relations, and to make the Professors live with and act upon the students, these are, for instance, the main elements of the system at the Anglo-Mahomedan College at Aligarh. It was an Englishman who first obliged its students to attend the daily prayers of their respective communities. Englishmen live with its students, dine with them, play with them. I can vouch for the results so far as the upper classes of the Aligarh District are concerned. Aligarh was, to say the least, not noted for its loyalty in the mutiny; and now I do not know a more enlightened body of native gentlemen than the leading gentlemen of the Aligarh District.

It is, indeed, for the leaders of native thought to show us what they need, rather than for us to thrust educational nostrums upon them. Our higher educational policy at present is a failure, whether judged by its effects on character, or by its political results; it bids fair to be the cancer of the British Empire: it requires to be reformed, and, above all, to be moralized. Indian history, certainly, affords much material for moral training if it is taught scientifically and in a spirit of sympathy and generous appreciation for indigenous civilizations.

## THE NEW SEDITION LAW OF INDIA.

BY ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.,

Late Offg. Commissioner of Orissa, and sometime Member of the  
Legislative Council of Bengal.

THE new Sedition Law which has lately been passed in India is one of those acts of feebleness and unwisdom which do more harm to the prestige of the Indian Government than even an unsuccessful campaign or the loss of a battle. The people of India have confidence in the strength of the British arms, and know that a military disaster can be, and will be, repaired by a subsequent victory. But when they witness, as they have witnessed during the last nine months, the Government of India and even local authorities ruling India under the apparent influence of distrust, suspecting plots and conspiracies which do not exist, instituting prosecutions and passing sentences as only panic-struck officers might do, and legislating for gagging a press which is the only channel for the expression of the people's views and opinions in India, they begin to ask themselves if the British Government in India have really lost confidence in themselves as well as in the people, and if they have lost the masculine vigour and the generous traditions of the days of Malcolm and Bentinck, of Canning and Lawrence, and other sound statesmen who built and maintained the Empire by reposing trust and confidence in the people. I myself am unable to believe that the British rule has changed its character, and I can only explain passing phenomena in the words of the young Lord Derby in "Peveril of the Peak," that "Old England, who takes a frolicsome brain-fever once every two or three years, for the benefit of her doctors and the purification of the torpid lethargy brought on by peace and prosperity, is now gone stark mad" on the subject of sedition and disaffection in India as she went stark mad on the subject of a Popish Plot in England two hundred years ago.

For in regard to the new Sedition Law itself, I have honestly tried to discover the necessity for this repressive measure, and I have failed to discover it, unless it be to suppress altogether popular criticism and the expression of popular views and opinions. That the Native Indian papers are generally violent and intemperate in their tone, as compared, for instance, with the Press of this country or the Anglo-Indian Press of India, is a statement which will not be seriously maintained by anyone who is a regular reader of those papers. I peruse those papers week after week as they arrive from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore and the N. W. Provinces; and although those papers criticise the action of the Government and of Government officers often and continuously, and although my own action as an Indian administrator has been often so criticised, I maintain that the papers are respectful in their tone and undoubtedly loyal to British rule in India. Real *disloyalty* is entirely absent, and the educated classes whom these papers represent are mainly the classes in India of whose *loyalty* the British rulers can be certain. They are loyal in their own interests, loyal in consequence of the education they have received, loyal because they can seek redress for their grievances openly and in a constitutional manner, and do not work in the dark. Wherever education has spread it has killed real disloyalty in India, killed those dark aspirations and designs against the British rule which may have existed in India forty years ago.

The opinions of high Indian officials who have retired from the service, and who still take a pleasure in perusing native Indian papers, will not, I believe, differ from mine as regards the tone and character of the Native Indian papers. Men like Sir William Hunter, Sir Richard Garth, and Sir William Markby, who see the papers and not mere extracts from them, wired by newspaper correspondents, will not, I believe, form a materially different opinion from that which I have stated. A still higher authority, the present Chief Commissioner of Assam, has

expressed his views on this subject with a clearness and force, and a degree of impartiality which deserve the highest credit. "They are embittered," he says of the educated classes, "deeply embittered at their exclusion from power, at the deliberate neglect of assurances in their favour solemnly made and repeatedly renewed, at the contemptuous manner in which they are treated by Europeans, and at the insolence with which their legitimate aspirations are spurned and set aside. If it is disloyalty to attempt to wring concessions from the Government by all fair means within their power, they are disloyal. If it is disloyalty, when excluded from office themselves, to watch and censure, often in no measured terms, the abuses of the authority exercised over them by Englishmen, they are disloyal. . . . But they are not disloyal if disloyalty consists in the feeling that they would wish to see the English Government driven from India. . . . They claim that the Government should repose confidence in them. . . . They demand real, not nominal equality, a voice in the Government of their own country, and a career in the public service."\*

This is the head and front of their offending, and would any sober man call this disloyalty or try to gag the Press for these aspirations? To illustrate Mr. Cotton's remarks, we may refer to a few matters which the Native Indian Press has dwelt on persistently in recent years. These papers have complained that the Queen's famous proclamation, promising high offices without distinction of race or colour is still practically a dead letter, and that the great civil service of India is still almost entirely manned by Europeans. They have urged that the combination of judicial and executive functions in the same officers gives rise to frequent abuses and makes British rule needlessly harsh and unpopular. They have complained that the rules of the Education service have been lately so recast as virtually to exclude the natives of India from appointments

\* H. J. S. Cotton's "New India," pp. 25 and 26.

in the higher grades—appointments which they have held so long with distinction. They have complained that the rules for admission into the Roorkee Engineering College have been so recast as to virtually exclude the majority of Hindu and Mahomedan students from qualifying themselves as Engineers through that institution. They have complained that the rules for the Police Department have been so framed as to virtually exclude them from any fair proportion of the higher appointments. They have complained that they are virtually excluded from the higher appointments in the Postal, the Telegraph and the Opium Departments. They have complained that laws affecting their welfare are introduced in the Viceregal and Provincial Councils, that revenue settlements are made in the different Provinces, and that great measures of administration are conceived, matured and passed, without their having any real voice in shaping or opposing them, except in the way of a formal discussion of details. They have complained that after three generations of Indians have been educated in English schools and colleges, they are virtually excluded from all real power in the administration of their own concerns. They have complained that no great and civilized country like India is ruled in the present day under a form of government in which the people are so utterly unrepresented.

Only a partisan will argue that there is no foundation for these complaints, and no one will deny that there is a strong feeling among the educated classes that they are still unfairly excluded from a just share in the real administration of their own country. Granting then that such a feeling exists, is it a wise policy to prevent the open expression of this feeling by stifling the Press? If there is dissatisfaction with the present methods of administration, is it a wise or a safe policy in India to stifle the expression of this dissatisfaction, and let it produce its results in the dark? I ask responsible statesmen, without distinction of party, if it is true statesmanship in India to choke off the

only expression of popular aspirations, popular opinions—popular dissatisfaction if you like—and to let the people know that whatever they may feel, they must not dare to criticise and they must not dare to agitate. This would be going back to the earlier and darker and more dangerous stage of British rule in India, when the rulers knew not what the people felt until it revealed itself in a catastrophe.

And yet this is precisely what the new Sedition Law seems to contemplate. I will make a few brief remarks on the text of this new Act as published in *India* of the 4th March.

*Section 4* of the Penal Code extends the application of the Law to “any Native Indian subject of Her Majesty in any place without or beyond British India.” This, read with the other provisions of the new Act, means, if my interpretation be correct, that a Native Indian will be triable in India for anything which he may say or do months or years before in any other part of the world. To take a concrete instance, if anything which I have written in this article, published in London, be considered to bring the Indian Government into “contempt,” I am liable to prosecution, not now in London and before an English Magistrate, but later on, in India, when I “may be found” there two or three years hence, on a visit to my friends and relations. Is such a law as this worthy of the traditions of British rule and British legislation in India in the past? I ask unbiassed men, irrespective of the party to which they may belong, if it is dignified and worthy of the British Government in India to lie in wait for its “Native Indian subject,” to wait in silence until he returns to India, and then to call him to account for what he may have written in an English journal, in England, months or years before. I ask if it is fair play to Her Majesty’s “Native Indian subject” to make him alone responsible for what he writes and utters, leaving Her Majesty’s English or Anglo-Indian subjects to say and write what they like against the people of India. I do not wish to argue this point further ; I ask responsible English-

men to decide if they will permit legislation and administration to proceed in India in this worse than Russian method.

*Section 124A* had a lucid and excellent explanation drafted by Sir Fitz-James Stephen which has been expunged, and three explanations have been substituted which leave the section dangerously vague. Whoever by words spoken or written brings the Government into hatred or contempt, or excites disaffection, commits sedition under this section. Is it possible to take up any morning newspaper in London in which something is not written calculated to bring some action of the Government of the day into contempt? Is it possible to take up an Anglo-Indian newspaper in India, criticising the military or the civil action of the Indian Government, which would not come under this definition? The *Madras Mail*, an Anglo-Indian newspaper, commenting on this sedition law, says that "Mr. Chalmers has hammered a nail into the coffin of British Empire in India." Will the Indian Government prosecute the *Madras Mail* for trying to bring the Government "into hatred and contempt" by these words? Or will the Indian Government choose its victims among Hindu and Mahommedan writers alone?

*Explanation 1* is, Disaffection includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity. *Explanation 2* is that comments which do not excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection are not sedition. And *Explanation 3* is much of the same nature. With these three explanations the Indian Magistrate is armed with power to stamp out all dissatisfaction in India, and to cultivate affection and goodwill by means of criminal prosecutions.

*Section 153A* lays down that whoever promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's service is liable to imprisonment. If this section really leads to the suppression of strong and bitter charges and recriminations which sometimes find place in Indian papers, and which disfigure Anglo-Indian newspapers



oftener than Native Indian newspapers, it will do positive good. But if this provision is meant for application in the cases of the natives of India alone—and the experience of the last few months justifies this assumption—then the clause is only another weapon for smiting the weak and avoiding the strong. We have seen, as I have mentioned elsewhere, that Tilak has been sentenced to 18 months' hard labour for speaking and writing on the murder of Afzal Khan by Sivaji two hundred years ago; and we have seen that an Anglo-Indian paper, which coolly published a proposal to exterminate the natives of India for the benefit of European settlers, has not received a warning.

*Section 505* provides that to publish or circulate a statement which is likely to create false alarm, or to incite a person of one class to commit an offence against another class, is an offence. Two exceptions are provided to this section; but even with these exceptions, the section is dangerously wide and vague, and is likely to affect the interests of journalism in a country where it is so difficult to obtain correct information, and the official sources are so difficult of access. Fifty or sixty or a hundred questions are asked *every night* in the House of Commons, and answered by the Ministers often with fulness of detail and due courtesy. Half a dozen questions asked *weekly* in a Provincial Council in India are considered an undue intrusion upon the valuable time of the officials.

These are the main alterations in the Penal Code; but the proposed alterations in the Criminal Procedure Code are still more alarming. One proposal is to arm magistrates of the first class to try offenders for sedition, who were hitherto triable by sessions Judges only. Magistrates in India are the heads of the Police, they combine in themselves judicial and executive functions, and acquire first-class powers after one or two years' experience in their work. To arm magistrates of the first class to try offenders for sedition would be to open up an endless vista of prosecutions in India, and to place the Press in India

under the mercy of young inexperienced executive officers who are the heads of the police. A more effective method for strangling a free Press could not be invented.

Another proposal is to empower magistrates to demand security for good behaviour from editors under Section 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code. That section has hitherto been applied in the cases of suspicious characters, of intending offenders, and of vagabonds without ostensible means of livelihood. Has it come to this, that the British Government in India has, after the rule of over a century, felt itself constrained to class the Press of the country in this respect with the worst and most dangerous class of criminals in India? Can anyone who reads the moderate, sensible, loyal, and respectful criticism which appears week after week in the Native Indian papers conceive the necessity of this worst form of humiliation reserved for them? Will it create loyalty and affection and goodwill among the educated people in India, and among those thoughtful writers who strengthen and support British rule, when the Government by its own action gives evidence of such panic and distrust in them, and seeks to stifle all expression of popular aspirations and popular dissatisfaction—allowing such feelings to work in the dark?

After the above article was written, information has been received of the deplorable riots, attended with loss of lives, which have taken place in Bombay. What lesson do they teach? During the last nine months, by means of Press-prosecutions, severe sentences, and the proposals of a Draconic Sedition Law, the free expression of opinion in the Native Indian Press has been almost stifled. Already telegrams have been despatched from India on its improved tone, when we have only silenced voices of warning, and the expression of discontent; we have, however, not removed its existence or even prevented a deplorable disturbance. The moral is, that when there is strong dissatisfaction in India with regard to any particular measures, it is wiser and safer to know it, though it may hurt our feelings as administrators; whilst it is most unwise to suppress the representation of discontent, because such a course does not cure it, and, indeed, may become the cause of an eventual danger to the State.

## THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

BY A SIKH PATRIOT.

[WE have received from a well-informed Sikh gentleman the following remarkable retrospect and prospect of Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes, with suggestions of considerable value for our future relations with, and control over, them, with which we do not agree, but to which we give the fairness of publicity. We admire the perfervid enthusiasm of "the Sikh patriot," who, like his co-religionists, has made active loyalty to the Government an important part of his faith. We must, however, not forget that there are still surviving elements of the traditional hostility between the Sikhs and the Pathans or Afghans.—*Ed.*]

THE recent war with the tribes on the Suleman range has been unique in the history of military operations on the frontier.

It has surpassed in magnitude, space of time, and expenditure all former frontier expeditions, and it may likewise exceed them in consequences. Daring deeds have excited the admiration of the world. The Pathan war is the talk of the day, and is represented under different shades as suits the describer.

There are people in England and India whose fancy it is to depreciate the action of the British Government in frontier affairs. The severe criticism arises from ignorance or from misplaced sympathy for a savage enemy. It may therefore be a slight public service, if the least of those natives specially concerned with the defence of the British Empire on that frontier, ventures to express his opinions on the subject, with the view of representing the Sikh point of view.

For who are more concerned with this defence or more conspicuous for their signal devotion and self-sacrifice? They are the gallant Sikhs, the favourites of the Britons, the worthy servants of worthy masters, and the most loyal subjects of the most august Sovereign, in whom She has the greatest confidence. My statements may be unnecessary and are certainly not authoritative, but I hope they will receive some attention. I shall try at first to explain

briefly the necessity under which the Government of India adopted precautionary defensive measures beyond the confines of India, and then make some feeble suggestions, erroneous or abortive though they may be, regarding the future arrangement of the frontier.

When the British Empire reached the Suleman range, some of the officials of the time, the followers, perhaps, of those who had violently attacked the Government policy, in the first Afghan War, of holding Afghanistan as a defensive position, declared the countries bordering on the North-West frontier to be independent buffer-states, and laid down a rule, that the Government should on no account interfere in these states. These officers seem to have based their opinion on the idea that the Russian advance through Central Asia to threaten or invade India was impracticable, as the intervening barbarous and unexplored regions were capable of presenting unsurmountable barriers to the invader. But within a quarter of a century the Russian victorious march through Tartary astonished the world, and foreboded its early approach still nearer to the British frontier.

Russia is believed by ignorant people to be most artful; in fact, more clever\* than other European Powers. Those, however, who believe in the alleged will† of Peter the Great, those who remember the compact of, or a coalition between, Russia and France against England in 1800, which is again renewed, and those who understand the revengeful nature of Russia, cannot for a moment listen to the arguments of officials, known as followers of the policy

\* Some even say that Russia prepares soldiers of wood and makes them fight like real men. Others tell that all European Powers are pupils of Russia from which they have learnt everything.

† It is believed by such persons that Peter the Great left secret instructions to his successors to possess Constantinople and invade India, and that the latter are following his advice. Russia will be happy, they add, on the day she reads her prayers in the restored Church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople and reaches the frontier of India. The Church of Saint Sophia was converted into a mosque by the Turks, and is still the place of their worship.

of "masterly inactivity." Russia has not forgotten her disgrace in the Crimean war at the hands of England, France, and Turkey. She has fully revenged herself over France through Germany\* in 1870. She has also revenged herself over Turkey in 1878, and she is, moreover, determined to carry her vengeance to the extreme in the case of the latter. It was Russian intrigue that was mainly responsible for the second Afghan war. At its end, however, the Indian Government occupied a position in Afghanistan, with the retention of which it could have decided once for all the question of frontier difficulties, and secured a base of defence for India that was greatly desired, and that might not for many years to come be possessed again without greater sacrifice. Unfortunately, the views of the followers of the inactive policy prevailed, and in consequence the whole fruit of the great expedition and the glorious result of a bloody war were lost. A course was pursued, for the future settlement of Afghanistan, which has ever since proved derogatory and injurious to the reputation and interests of India. But the further aggressions of Russia made the adherents of the inactive policy change their minds and permit the Government of India to throw out a fortified camp at Quetta. Soon after when the Russians struck at Panjdeh, those adherents might have for the first time believed that she was bent on mischief against India, and that her promises were false. Within a decade after this, the Russian Bear made a sudden appearance over the peaks of the Pamir and obliged the astonished British Lion to extend its paw of protection in that direction. The Government of India, ever on the watch, took immediate steps to strengthen its defensive position in Chitral.

India can be assailed by Russia on three sides of Afghanistan: (i) Southern or Kandahar side, (ii) Northern or Hindu Kush side, (iii) Eastern or through "the frontier"

\* This is a clear proof of the cleverness of Russia that first she got France crushed by Germany, and afterwards she made intimate friendship with the former to overawe the latter.

passes. The Government has succeeded in securing strong defensive posts on the first and second sides, but at the third India is as weak as it was fifty years ago. There live barbarous tribes, ever faithless, turbulent, and hostile, with the Suleman range in their possession, the astute Afghans at their back, and resolute and crafty Russia behind them both. From the strategical point of view India is exposed to external invasion from this direction. Danger from Russia is in these days greater than it was before, and her union with France, which she has joined for her own advantage, is now a reality. They together are closing in upon the Indian Empire on its eastern and western sides; and they seem to have formed three schemes to involve the British Government in trouble: (i) invasion, (ii) menace, (iii) extension of the British Empire.\* They have tried the second and the third and have succeeded in them; and they have reserved the first for some other opportunity. In comparing the Russian acquisitions in Central Asia, with those of the British in India during the present century, the former power seems to have advanced more rapidly. It is therefore a grave mistake to consider Russia as a harmless neighbour, or void of ambition, or free from evil intention towards India. The Government of India was prudent to forestall the designs of Russia, and was therefore justified in securing defensive positions far from the frontier of India to place it in full security. But no fortifications or defensive position can be erected by a power in any frontier country unless that country is under its protection and control. Hence it is a clear and legitimate conclusion, that Bilochistan, Afghanistan, the Frontier range, Chitral, and the other States on the North-West border, should be under the suzerainty of the British Government.

Now I must take up another subject, that of a Moham-  
medan invasion of India, which is equally deserving con-  
sideration. It is surprising that so important a question

\* This probably means "encroachments on the British Empire."—*Ed.*

should escape the notice of even writers and speakers on the Russian advance. At the end of the last century this subject created some fears in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, but since then it has been forgotten. A Mohammedan invasion is not an impossibility. It may, indeed, happen at any time. The unexpected rise of the frontier tribes and the sudden change in the feelings of Islam outside India, towards Great Britain, are the recent instances in support of the argument. The region between India and the Caspian Sea has already given birth to the most ferocious invaders that the world has ever produced. Who can say that it may not produce again another scourge of mankind? Those Central Asian invaders appear to have been attracted towards India more than towards other countries. The passes of the Suleman range afforded them easy access; they descended upon the plain of India and passed over it like a sweeping wave of destruction. Their peculiar religious teachings, savage life, predatory habits, and the attractions of India, all combine to work upon the ambitious minds and inflammable passions of the barbarous and nomad tribes, and make them rise at the first note of a guiding spirit to follow his green standard. The revival of Islam\* has already had its full effect upon the faithful, so much so, that even the shrewd ruler of Afghanistan could not escape its influence, but seems to have greatly imbibed its zeal and inspiration. He has assumed to himself the dignity of a champion of his religion, and has striven to teach Jihad to his subjects, so as to make them all soldiers of God and his prophet, ready to die for their king and faith.

Such being the case on our North-West frontier, it is most desirable that in discussing the Russian question, the subject of the Mohammedan invasion, independent of or

\* In Turkey and Egypt, and under its impulse the Islamic world from the Adriatic on the north and Sahara on the south, to India on the west, is striving in various ways for the deliverance of the full power of the crescent from the shadow of the cross.

in alliance with Russia, or under her direction and control, may be equally considered. The buffer-state of Afghanistan is the only remaining independent dominion now existing between the British and the Russian Empires in the east, and the Government of India has always desired with its paternal care to preserve it for ever. It has helped this State with money and arms, afforded it means to carry on its administration, and even forgiven its faults, with the object of keeping it strong to control its subjects, and enabling it to present a formidable front to any enemy that may approach its frontier on its north and west. Yet in spite of all these favours, its present ruler who, but for the British Government, would have been still an exile in Bukhara, and who owes his throne and the success of his rule to that power, has never shown himself fully grateful and contented. He might think perhaps that he was invited to Kabul by the British Government more for its own objects, and that he was therefore at liberty to use the plea, that what he did or was doing was for the benefit of his people and for the good of his neighbours. He might therefore advise the British Government and say that its business was simply to help him to carry on his government and protect him from foreign invasion, but not to interfere with his internal affairs, nor to meddle with the independent tribes living on his borders.\*

Such has ever been the policy of the rulers† of Afghanistan; they did not like to see their country hemmed in on all sides and their frontier joined with that of the British; and they therefore tried to have some independent territory between Kabul and India. Sher Ali was displeased with

\* The latter he has certainly *not* done in connection with the recent Pathan risings.—*Ed.*

† The great object of the Amirs of Kabul has always been to receive help from the British Government for their internal control and external protection, to keep some independent territory and undivided frontier between them and the Indian Empire, to have a free hand in the business of that territory or independent tribes, and to permit nobody else to interfere in the affairs of the latter.



the action of the British Government in Bilochistan, and Abdur Rahman was annoyed to see the independent mountainous regions on his north-west and east divided between himself and the British Government. The Durand mission, however, to which the Amir long objected, thwarted his object, and he consented to the division under dread of British arms, though very reluctantly, and that only after having received good compensation for himself. After this settlement, which he never desired and never approved, he seems to have attempted again to keep off, as much as possible, the near approach of the British frontier. But he was wise, wiser than his uncle, and instead of waging war, or provoking a quarrel like the latter, or openly expressing his dissatisfaction, he may be accused of having created serious troubles for the British Government in Chitral,\* if not on the frontier through secret, skilful and mysterious agencies. It is therefore natural to suppose that he should grieve at the success of the British arms near his borders. The personal qualities of the present Amir and his prudence must pass away.† As usual, a struggle for power must anyhow happen, after his death, and Afghanistan must present once more the horrible aspect of a dangerous neighbour.

Should the Government ever be under the necessity of interfering in order to protect its own frontier, the very means supplied to the Amir may be employed by his successors against the British Government. There is no impossibility that it may not so happen, when it will be confessed that the great blunder was committed in 1880. Time and circumstances are moulding their own course, and Afghanistan must, one day or other, come under the benign rule of the British Empire.

As to the Frontier tribes, they have been independent

\* The writer evidently alludes to the escape of Sher Afzul from Kabul to Chitral.—*Ed.*

† They are largely inherited by his eldest son, Habibulla, whose sense of justice, amiability, true piety, enlightenment, and firmness have characterized his Vice-royalty during the illness of his great father.—*Ed.*

for ages, levying taxes upon their neighbours and those that passed through them, and defying the might of the monarchs of India and Afghanistan. The Chitral campaign taught them that their independence was threatened; and they therefore took immediate steps to prepare themselves for defence. Within two years they made marvellous progress; they proved themselves excellent marksmen, and able to fight to their own advantage and to their enemy's loss. The pensioned Pathans that went back to their country may have taught their brethren at home, and supplied them with information. This is why, indeed, the British Army met with hard opposition where least expected: and this also illustrates the fact that the Pathan is treacherous.

The Afridis are savage, suspicious, and completely under the sway of their religious teachers. But they fight more eagerly with infidel neighbours than with their co-religionists across their frontier; though their continuous intestine wars exhibit generally their bloodthirsty character. Their recent sudden and simultaneous rise proved them also to be dupes under the influence of some mysterious power that goaded their passion against the infidels.

Though barbarous, they seem to understand the economic principle of keeping their population by perpetual fighting at the ordinary level, so when they are reduced in comforts, they recur to raids among themselves or fanatical crusades against neighbouring infidels, thereby : (i) getting their superfluous numbers decreased; (ii) killing infidels; (iii) receiving great plunder from their enemies, and find themselves better off at the end of a war. (iv) They feel happy at sending their martyr brethren to heaven and their butchered enemies to damnation. (v) Those of them that return home victorious receive the dignity of Ghazeeism—or "raiding" for the faith.

There is another great inducement. They are promised a princely life in heaven for dying for their religion, or for killing infidels. They would therefore prefer such a death

to a life on earth in poverty and want, and would ever try to reach heaven as soon as possible. Their share in heavenly pleasure increases in proportion as they succeed in murdering infidels on earth. Hence it is easy to conclude that the Pathans would always like to kill infidels, wage war against them, and plunder their property and country. Such are the people with whom the British Government is fighting for its defence and security.

I have thus described above that there are three\* great causes of apprehension for the British Government on its North-West frontier. Each of these is threatening to the safety of India, and each, with malefic aspect† towards that country, makes itself its most dangerous neighbour. Should these three ever unite (which God forbid) what can be the state of our defence on the frontier? We shall have, as matters stand, to defend ourselves on our own soil and fight our battles in our own homes instead of, as at Kandahar and Chitral, to oppose our enemy at a great distance from India.

I now consider the second great question, which is most important, as it concerns the future arrangement of our frontier. Upon taking a survey of the seat of war, it appears that the British army stands victorious. The question is widely discussed all over the British world, what should now be done with the tribes and their country. To me there appear to be the following solutions :—

- (i) Withdrawal from the enemy's country without any conditions.
- (ii) Re-transfer to the enemy of their country and possessions and return to India after imposing some mild conditions on them, by which they may bind themselves to live in peace in future.
- (iii) To have full control over the country, short of

\* Russia, Mohammedan invasion and the Frontier tribes.

† The malefic aspect grows in proportion as the anti-English party in Turkey and Egypt increases in strength.

annexation ; to occupy different, important, and difficult places, passes and defiles, and to make perfect arrangements for future security.

- (iv) To completely subjugate the country, to leave no room for fresh difficulties or more expeditions in future, and to decide once for all the thorny and troublesome question of the frontier.

There may be some other modes of solution, or there may be modifications in the above proposals. The first one nobody would accept except perhaps the friends of our enemies. The second and the third are now under discussion with or without modifications. The fourth is what, in my humble opinion, is most to be desired.

The following points should be considered, before forming a definite judgment :—

- (i) The loss of life and heavy expenditure which are now being borne in the present frontier war.
- (ii) In case of an unsatisfactory settlement or feeble arrangement for the future, the result will be to produce a bad impression upon the minds of the public about the infirm action of the Government ; to make the ignorant believe that the Government was weaker than the Pathans and unable to cope with, or subdue, them ; to encourage the tribes to assume a bolder mien ; and to give them time to meet the Government again in the field better prepared and fully organized.

Again, I explain these points :—

(I.) It is greatly to be regretted that more loss of life and greater expenditure happened this time than was expected. This was due largely to the mode of fighting on the part of the enemy and to their skill in shooting, and also no doubt to the blunders and ignorance, in some matters, on the part of the invaders. Let the losses sus-

tained in the frontier expeditions within the last 50 years with their heavy expenditure, be added to the losses and expenditure of the present war; let us also add the loss of life and expenditure on new expeditions within the next 50 years, which may be necessary, if the British army returns from the field of their glory without achieving anything for the security of India, and leaving the tribes alone to recover and fight again with us. It will then be found that within 100 years the Government will have lost thousands of warriors and wasted millions of money for nothing, that the Pathans were wiser and gainers in the end, and we are the losers and sufferers, and simple in the extreme. It should also be borne in mind that in every subsequent expedition that may take place within the next 50 years, the British Army must meet with greater and better organized opposition from the Pathans; and the loss of life and amount of expenditure must always increase in every successive expedition.

(II.) Great harm will happen to the prestige and power of the British arms whose reputation must necessarily suffer, should nothing effectual be done now. The gathering of so many forces on the frontier, as was never witnessed before, has already produced unfavourable ideas upon the minds of the ignorant; and the question is oftentimes asked: "If the whole of India is drained of its army simply to punish the frontier tribes and put down these disturbances, what would Government do if Russia were to invade this country singlehanded or in conjunction with the Afghans and the Pathans?"\*

\* Some people ask in astonishment why Hari Singh and Sawan Mal, during the Sikh time, kept the whole frontier in their awe and fear, and why the British Government, with all its forces, has not subdued it in so long a time. Others consider that it is the lenient policy of the Government, its forbearance and humanity that have always emboldened these faithless people, accuse the Government of improper generosity towards the Afridis, and think that the money supplied and many favours shown to these savages, afford them power and means to do any mischief they like and to keep the British border in constant fear and alarm.

To avoid these difficulties I submit the following suggestions :—

- (i) Total subjugation and disarmament of the tribes, and their country to be permanently occupied.
- (ii) Fortified camps to be raised in different places : passes and difficult defiles to be secured.
- (iii) Roads to be constructed and the country opened to traffic.
- (iv) The Afridis not to be allowed to keep or possess European arms.
- (v) They may have native weapons, in a limited number, on license and security.
- (vi) They should be enlightened and enabled to understand the blessings of the British Government which, unfortunately for them, has been so long in reaching them.
- (vii) They should be habituated to peaceful arts and trained for the army service ; but in the army they should be put in " mixed " regiments.
- (viii) Stringent rules should be framed to put a stop to murder and criminal cases.
- (ix) Warlike races such as Sikhs, Jats, Dogras, Gurkhas, Rajputs, to be colonized among the Afridis.
- (x) The Khans and Nawabs also to be stripped of such powers and means as they may at any time employ to disturb the peace ; but measures should be adopted to render these Nawabs a valuable Rais class to serve the Government.
- (xi) No allowances to be given any more to the Afridis.
- (xii) No pensioned Pathan should be allowed to compound his service, pension, but should receive it as other soldiers do, so that his connexion with the British Government may not be entirely severed.
- (xiii) Those Native States that have rendered services in this war, through their forces, or their leaders, or both, should be permitted to occupy certain tracts so as to be ever ready on the spot to render immediate service to the Government.

In short, every measure should be adopted to secure permanent peace on the frontier, and to stop for ever the continual shedding of blood and waste of money in frontier expeditions.

The new arrangement, as proposed above, may require more troops and more money. As regards troops, forces can be spared from down-country, and, with a little increase, can fully meet the requirements. The quota of the native states and martial colonies should also be added to strengthen the military arrangements. The financial ques-

tion may present some difficulty. But when it is considered that with a little increased expense for a limited period, the heavy amount that may be required for many more expeditions in future is saved, the increase does not look burdensome or alarming. But England should come in here and share this burden with India. The frontier question is an IMPERIAL question and the safety of India concerns the safety of the British Empire in Asia. Therefore the Home Government should contribute not less than half the expenses on the frontier, till its aid is no more required. In this way the financial difficulty can be removed. Besides this, the country is not altogether barren; its produce will repay some portion of the expenditure, and it can be made able to produce sufficient, in five or six years, to meet its full expenses. Peace and security are more precious than money.

Among the Sikhs, the NIHANGS\* (soldiers of God) would

\* The Nihangs or Akalis as they are called form an order of religious warriors among the Sikhs.

The order was established by the tenth Guru in the name of his younger son.

They are noted for the rigidity of their religious observances and for the austerity of their life; for their devotion to their Guru and for their love and zeal to fight with a Turk or Khan (Mahomedan foe) and with the enemies of their faith; for the purity of their morals, contentment of their heart, firmness of their decision and independence of their character.

They depend entirely upon God or their Guru and therefore do not fear anybody. They despise begging, but they receive charity which they call their taxes. Those therefore that appear as beggars in dress of Nihangs are not Akalis, but false imitators.

They have a distinct and curious dialect of their own, and use the masculine gender for everything.

Although awful in their appearance and imposing and fear-inspiring in their manners and talk, they are peaceful, humane and merciful.

But they are terrific in war and most formidable foes on the battle field. They have never committed any outrageous act nor done heinous crimes. Few rare cases can be found in which they killed some person under grave and extreme provocation in the violation of their religion.

*They serve the British Government gratis and love it;* for they understand that it entered the land as desired by their Guru and under his prophecy and protection.

Bands of these soldiers of God fought voluntarily with the enemies of

be most serviceable for the purpose. They are born for such service and they delight in fight with these people. There can be no better counterpoise to the Pathans. Nihangs may be utilized in two ways (i) free colonization (ii) regular service. The first one is feasible. The Nihangs live on bhang which they would grow and drink to the health of the Government with shouts of joy. They would therefore require grants of land for their maintenance. The other one is rather difficult. I proposed once to a late Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, to raise two regiments (foot and horse) of the Nihangs and to locate them at some difficult places; but they would not like to come under "pen" (regular service as they call it), nor would they like to be called back when once ordered for attack, howsoever dangerous it be. The word "retreat" or "retire" is most obnoxious to their ear. They would never care to hear it. "Forward and fight" is the most propitious or delightful expression for them. They would gladly attack the place whence others might shrink and engage in a fight which may frighten all other soldiers. A "forlorn hope" is for them a cheerful enterprise. They fall upon the enemy to conquer or die, but never to return. In short, they are what the ancient Spartans once were.

As the frontier business seems\* to draw to a speedy

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the British Government on the frontier expedition at Black Mountain, in the Soudan, and Afghanistan. One of these, Kharka Singh, in the second Kabul war, attracted the notice of the Chief Commander of the British force for his conspicuous and signal bravery and was treated with great distinction. This Nihang singly defended the gate of the Balahisar against numbers of enemies.

The Sikh States should be required to keep establishment of Nihangs for service in war in time of need.

\* It should not be supposed from my above statement that I urge and favour the "forward," and stand against the "inactive," policy; I am neither for the one nor for the other, popularly so-called.

I have criticized the latter as it has done (in my opinion) great harm in the matter of the frontier defence beyond the confines of India.

I can quite understand that the extension of an empire too far beyond its proper limits renders its control and expenses difficult. But in the frontier question there is no extension of the empire. Here the only



settlement, I conclude my subject and hasten to offer it for consideration. My proposals for "subjugation" may be accepted or not, but I think I have done my duty by explaining in what, in my humble opinion, lies the good of India and the honour of the British Government. If some milder course is adopted, my proposal should remain standing for some future occasion when, at one time or another, it may be acted upon.

But even after subjugation of the country, it will be known that only half the real work is done. The completeness of the work lies in the extension of the line of defence on the other side of the Suleman range, so as to unite it to Chaman on one side and to Chitral on the other, and to make that range as a natural barrier for the protection of India. I should be only too happy to see Her Majesty's sway extending over the whole frontier; the British flags hoisted on the plains of the country beyond it; the Afghans and Pathans living under the suzerainty of the British Government as peaceful citizens and useful subjects of our common sovereign, the most blessed Empress-mother; and (if my prayers be accepted) the whole of Asia paying homage at the altar of the British throne.

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object aimed at, is to strengthen the border and make it secure for ever, and to raise a defensive position, far away from the limits of India, to meet an enemy (should one come) in his way and at a distance from the frontier of India.

## THE AMIR AND THE TRIBES.

BY EX-POLITICAL.

THE recently published Bluebook on the Frontier operations shows *inter alia* a few *bévue*s in the correspondence of the Government of India with the Amir Abdurrahman of Afghanistan. When British troops were assembled at Peshawur, Lord Elgin appears to intimate to this vigilant potentate that, in spite of certain rumours regarding his own attitude towards the British, he should not believe that these troops were assembled against him, and elicited the well-merited reply that as long as engagements were kept on both sides there was no cause for such impression. Again, when the Viceroy reiterated his hint for the extradition of the fugitive Afridis, or, at least, for watching that they did not re-cross the Afghan frontier for purposes hostile to the British, he was assured that, whilst every step would be taken by local officials to stop such crossing, a lengthy frontier could never be so watched as to entirely prevent it, but that it was his duty as a Muhammadan King to afford protection to refugee co-religionists so long as they behaved in an orderly manner. "Two Kabul books," presumably on waging war against "infidels," may also be ascribed to the Amir, but to understand his difficult position properly, both as regards his own fanatical subjects and his unflinching loyalty to the British Government, it is necessary to weigh with impartiality these conflicting attitudes with their practical result of securing the friendship of Afghanistan. With this view a retrospect of his pronounced feelings when originally assuming the sovereignty under British auspices may not be out of place. He reassured his future subjects as to the orthodoxy of his faith; his Amirship was "given by God" (*Khudádád*); it was not dependent on the support of non-Muslims, against all of whom he held Afghanistan, whether encroaching from the North or South. When

even implied appeals to Jihád were brought home to him, he justified them by the requirements of his position as a Muhammadan ruler anxious alike not to offend his people and to keep faith with his English friends.\* So far, however, from being a nominee of an infidel power, he was a "King of Islám," prepared, at any time, if really desirable and under the prescribed conditions, to engage in a "holy war,"—indeed, he took an earnest view of the question, a *sine quâ non* condition of which was that the believers waging it were under a, or *the*, King of Islám. This doctrine strengthens the loyalty of his subjects, and prepares their minds for something to happen, whilst it renders the visits, or even residence in Kabul, of infidels a matter of comparative indifference to a fanatical population which is sure of their eventual departure. In the meanwhile, therefore, this view is a political advantage to us, for it helped to silence any hostile attitude to the Durand Mission, and it gave the impression to the ignorant masses that, some day, the workshops at Kabul, in certain eventualities, might be turned against us. On the Afridis, especially, the "appeal," or what transpired of it (for its propaganda was mainly confined to Governors and to a sort of official Mullas only) had a stimulating, if not contemplated, effect; it flattered their expectations to the top of their bent, whilst they reserved to themselves an initiative in any future struggle with the infidel which would go far to secure their independence from alike the Amir (who might *pro tanto* even lead them or rather provide them with ammunition) and the British or Russian or any other unbeliever. Nor were the terms of the Durand Treaty (as yet unknown in its entirety) communicated to them, beyond an assurance that they (the Afridis) were not to be interfered with by any of the Durand stipulations. As for the Mohmands or other tribes that, when it suited them, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Amir or the investiture by him of such Chiefs as

\* The implied answer was that the appeals were directed against Russia, not England.—*Ed.*

that of Lalpura, there was a more uneasy feeling, which grew during the Chitrál campaign, for the Amir himself admitted in a conversation with Miss Hamilton on the subject of the subjugation of Kafiristan then in progress that, so far as the "transfer" of Muhammadan tribes to the zone of British influence was concerned, he had no doubt incurred the curses of his co-religionists, but that he kept steadfast to the Treaty as a man of good faith and a strict Muhammadan. He omitted, however, to say that the attack on Kafiristan was a necessity of his position to reconcile the Muhammadan feeling in his favour, and to remove the expected prejudice against the Durand Treaty of which the Kafiristan cession was a part. Indeed, the Bashgal valley, expressly *excluded* in the Durand Treaty, was, subsequently, also ceded to him by arrangement. In any case, among those Muhammadans not immediately "transferred" the effect of the conquest of Kafiristan was a re-assurance of the perfect orthodoxy and of the ascendancy of "the King of Islám."

The attitude of the present Amir during our recent Frontier campaign was altogether loyal and correct, in spite of religious fellow-feeling and other great temptations, although it may be doubted whether, unlike all previous Amirs, he could have viewed the *effective* approximation of the Indo-Afghan frontiers without misgivings, after the, somewhat, academical Durand agreement regarding their respective "influences." A belt of, practically, independent tribes between them as between the Anglo-Russian spheres of similar "influence" in Asia, is obviously of primary importance for the preservation of peace among those concerned. The notion that the tribes can be rendered more friendly to us than they have, as a rule, ever been, by their recent, sometimes not over discriminate, slaughter; the devastation of their homes, the burning of their mosques, the cutting down of fruit-trees, the use of Dum-dums, etc., can only be a fancy of one versatile Commander (the *bête noire* of the Amir), who "for love knocks one down," or of

another Commander who, seemingly, advocates the spread of civilization by the methods of Tamerlane.

As long as the exercise of their religion is freely permitted to our Indian Muhammadan subjects and the Amir remains in faithful alliance with us, his orthodoxy as a Muslim is a great guarantee for the friendliness of the tribes, provided there is an immediate return to the *status quo ante*, whether called a regression to the old Panjab system or a pretended new departure of a modified "Forward policy" by the bitter experience we have just gained, and which is converting alike opponents and advocates of "masterly inactivity" into friendly rivals in a wise and humane propaganda for the sympathies of the tribes.

Finally, by rather encouraging the status of the Amir as a "King and defender of Islám," his position as *primus inter pares* among Muhammadan neighbours will be preserved, in spite of the unforeseen effect of the Durand "douche," much to *our* interests in the event of complications with Russia—the real bugbear of Islám. Lord Lytton was fully aware of the importance of such a policy in designating the strict Muhammadan, Abdurrahman, to the Throne of a "God-given" Afghanistan and, although I venture to differ from the subsequent amplifications by ambitious men (even if they include the brave, but scarcely quite consistent, Lord Roberts), of a "Forward policy," to which Lord Lytton's genius laid the foundation, the honesty of purpose of this gifted Viceroy and his real sympathies with all "native" rights, shown by acts rather than talk, were as undoubted as these qualities are undeniable in that most straightforward of all Viceroys, Lord Ripon, the opponent of the recent Frontier campaign, and in the self-denying Lord Northbrook.

## THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION.

BY "BEHIND THE SCENES."

[OUR contributor had already prepared this paper for us during the month of February, before telegraphic news was received of the opening of China, the guarantee that the Customs should be under English management, and the undertaking not to cede any part of the Yangtsze valley. It is fair to him to mention this, as future negotiations may affect the accuracy of his forecasts before our July number appears.—ED.]

The theory that Russia was cognizant of, and lent her secret support to, William the Second's Chinese venture seems to have gradually exploded, or, rather, to have puffed itself out for want of a steady supply of buoyant material. Probably no one knows the whole of the facts except on his own side, but we may take it that on general principles nothing is further from Russian taste and method than a policy of jerks and surprises served up with incomprehensible speeches. It must not be forgotten that her Chinese policy has from the beginning been consistently humane, and on the whole fairly correct. Ever since the settlement of the Albazin question two centuries ago, China's passive resistance and Russia's youthful activity have succeeded in finding a *modus vivendi* without coming to serious blows. After trying a few decades of life in Russia, the Turgut branch of the Kalmucks decided to return in a body to China, and this action of course raised the prestige of China at the cost of that of Russia. During the Kalmuck wars, Russia maintained a proper attitude of neutrality and reserve, and under diplomatic pressure at last surrendered the body of the chief rebel to the Chinese. For a century after that she submitted quietly to the bonds of a restricted trade at Kiachta, but her merchants and missionaries were as a rule generously, if firmly, treated at

Peking. Russian prisoners were always kindly entertained. There were never any torturings or massacres by China. True, there were occasional underhand tricks played with boundary stones; but both sides were equally to blame, for it is well known to students of history that the Emperor K'ang-hi would never allow the Jesuit survey to lay down on paper the true frontier with Russia, his idea being to shift the boundary farther back whenever convenient occasion should arise. After the first British war with China, Russia showed no sign of "jumping upon" a fallen rival. If after the second war she moved down and occupied the territory now known as the Siberian province of Trimorsk, it was at least in fair diplomatic agreement with the Manchu dynasty, whose deliberate policy had always been to leave this "buffer" region waste and unprofitable. No force was used. The charge of "smartness" so often made against Russia in this matter can scarcely be fairly advanced by those who have since appropriated Loochoo, Tonquin, and Burma: at any rate, Russia never dealt with China as the latter has just been dealt with by a nation so "sensitive on the point of right" as Germany. In the Ili affair Russia behaved distinctly honourably, though the leek was hard for her to swallow, the temptation great, and the power to do ill deeds and break her plighted word was amply at hand. Whatever ultimate designs Russia may have had on her conscience when she led the way in saving part of Manchuria from Japan, she at least *à priori* did China a good turn, and therefore her record from first to last as a friend of the Celestial Empire is as good as that of any other power. In regard to the Pamir settlement, Russia was a little grasping, but no more so than England was in connection with the Kakhyen belt. Such no-man's lands as the Kirghiz pastures and the Kakhyen hills have proved a dangerous form of compromise, and the stronger claimant must keep order in them. In setting forth these considerations, I do not for a moment accept a brief for Russia, still less do I assert that all her Eastern policy has

been faultless, all her agents just, or all her motives good. But, as human affairs go, up to the date of the German seizure of Kiao-chow, I say "Which of the Powers interested, eastern or western, can honestly throw the first stone?"

France's Chinese record is not so good as that of Russia. So early as 200 years ago the Emperor of China specially singled out France as the most dangerous of the "island barbarians" then coming by sea. But after losing India France may be said to have had no continuous history in the extreme East previous to her share in the "allied" war. As the protector of Roman Catholic missions in China, her position in Europe, where she expelled what were practically the same missionaries from her dominions, always threw a haze of insincerity over her Chinese policy, which, for a dozen years subsequent to the war with Germany, became weak, fitful, and almost pitiable. M. Gérard has been her only "strong" man. Making every allowance for her ancient claims and "sacrifices" in Annam, it cannot be said that France's policy there has been either successful, generous, or consistent. In her "war" of 1884 she used native Christians against China, and she was, if not actually defeated, at least obliged to rest content with a drawn battle at the close. She has no true, spontaneous, solid interests in the Far East such as Russia has; her treatment of the Chinese colonists is in some respects harsher than that they receive at the hands of Holland, or even Spain. While her missionaries are encouraged in British India, she will tolerate no English missionaries in Tonquin. Her shipping is nearly all subsidised, and does not even pay, if considered apart from the subsidy conventions: her import duties are discriminating; her trade, even in her own colonies, extremely small. Her chief sources of revenue come from opium and gambling. If her influence in China has recently increased, it is as a hanger-on of Russia; and, indeed, in Signor Crispi's words, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that her



whole policy since 1871 has been one of spite. Probably, however, he originally used the less harsh French word *dépit*, and meant "peevisishness." In the department of science and learning the services of the earlier French missionaries have been unequalled and invaluable; indeed, even at the present day, the French Jesuits in China are distinctly at the head of Sinology and general Eastern knowledge, whilst the French *savants* are equally to the fore in Europe. In the department of intellect, the first place must be conceded to France. But in a political and commercial sense the claims of France to be a trusted friend of China will not bear close examination. According to the latest information, France seems to have pronounced against the suggested dismemberment of China, and to have withheld her support from the excessive demands which Russia, incited by the evil example of the German raid, has been tempted to make. But her claims to a "sphere" of monopoly in the south (if correctly stated by the press) are certainly unreasonable, more especially her opposition to the opening of Nan-ning as a treaty port. The snappish jealousy of the merchants of Indo-China is really too unworthy. There is little if any sound wholesale trade, if we except the shipping activity of M. Marty, in French hands. Perhaps, France is "played out" as a colonising power; she has no vigorous surplus population to spare, and her anæmic *colons* have really not the heart and stomach for their work. France has not the legitimate position in the East that England or Russia has. Certainly, as a makeweight she is important, and her persistent hostility to the healthy aspirations of England is therefore of course to be regretted. Nothing is to be feared from French competition so long as it is fair; but unfortunately France has the power to make herself very disagreeable in many occult and unfair ways, and does so at times. The Dreyfus affair has perhaps had at least one good effect: it has—to use the favourite French expression—temporarily "paralyzed" the aggressive action of France in the Far

East ; not that anyone in England wishes to see France's legitimate expansion hampered in any way, but that in this specific case it prevents her in a measure from looking about for mischief for idle hands to do ; and, however prudent M. Hanotaux may be, there are many such mischief-seekers always ready to egg him on.

The third power in rank whose interests must be considered with those of England is now Japan, which has since 1894 indubitably leapt into the first category at a single stride. "Our little brown friends" (as a United States Minister once patronisingly called them at a banquet given by them in his honour at Tōkyō) have asserted their right to be listened to, however much we may smile at some of their inchoate ways. The Chino-Japanese war was a signal and overwhelming triumph for Japan, and those who affect to minimise the victories gained may be ranked with the cranks who essay to prove that Grant and Napoleon were no true generals. Before the war Japan was always chafing under the feeling that China despised her, and there was consequently a strong popular yearning to "get even" with her and to humble her. Now, however, that the windbag is pricked, and China lies prostrate in the dust, there is a certain generous sympathy, coupled with a sentiment of alarm lest the aggressive West should deprive the East of its just birthright ; and lest the despicable fall of China should ultimately drag with it that of Japan "as the lips fall in with the teeth." So far as warlike ardour, pluck, endurance, and national pride goes, the individual Japanese is quite the equal of any European soldier ; but a powerful fleet and a strong army require money or money's worth to support them, whilst the accumulation of wealth in Japan is not at present great enough to stand such a steady drain. Japan is like a slender muscular bird fitted with wings just strong enough to sustain its weight when it has painfully soared aloft, but whose quills are too delicate to withstand a shock of bad weather or a stray gunshot. Japan, like Russia, needs

peace for her due development. She requires not only to prepare her system for new nutriment, but to absorb her new nutriment more thoroughly into the restored system. I dare say many a prominent statesman in Japan now bethinks himself regretfully of the warning of Li Hung-chang, when he pleaded with Count Ito two years ago for a friendly understanding against the united Colossus of Europe, and ominously suggested that a time would come when Japan would repent of her obduracy, and when she would remember his appeal with bitter sorrow. Japan's "policy" with China may be said to have begun with the occupation of Formosa in 1874. Then followed the high-handed conversion of Loochoo into the Japanese district of Okinawa Ken, though the Loochooans had always sent regular tribute to China; were in no way meddled with by China; and wished to remain a part of the Chinese Empire. The Corean struggle began in 1884, and continued until mutual provocations culminated ten years later in a bloody war. The policy of China throughout was in a word "Chinese," that is to say, it was bullying, bragging, distrustful, vacillating, and corrupt. Japan's was not much better; but it was a little better, and it had the advantage over that of China in being progressive, instead of being retrogressive. In short, Japan has never done anything to make herself liked or respected in China, though she has done much to provoke resentment and envy. Her sole claim to Chinese respect (as distinct from fear) lies in the fact that her civilisation and literature are at bottom Chinese.

During the Bismarkian *régime* the German policy in China was, in a word, to "follow the lead of England." In the first place, in Bismark's time German growth in the Far East had not yet become ripe for an organic change. In the second, German merchants under the British flag had enjoyed everywhere exactly the same privileges and protection as British merchants. They clung to the friendly ladder they are now anxious to kick down.

After the Franco-German war, the new German imperial craft began to feel its own helm a little; fine legations and consulates replaced the old ramshackle buildings; a line of mail steamers was started, and German steamer tramps began to hover about the coasts in place of the old brigs; at first unobtrusively, but latterly in a self-assertive and independent way. Herr von Brandt was the first Minister at Peking to inaugurate openly what may be called the commercial-traveller policy; *i.e.* pleading for German contracts, favouring German jobs, pushing German samples, and, generally, touching no bread except on the buttered side. At least one English consul resigned his honorary post as German consul rather than do what he considered unfair German work. Certainly, von Brandt was a "strong man," so far as German interests alone were concerned; but his was rather an ignoble policy, and taught the Chinese a little more of what they already knew too well,—the advantage of playing off one European power against another. The Ignatieffs, Alcocks, Wades, Rochechouarts, Patenôtres, Lowes, Denbies, Vlangalis, Reyfus', Calices, etc., had all known how to advance their own countries' interests; but at all times there was a solidarity amongst the European Ministers; a feeling that they represented collectively an oasis of Christian decency amid a desert of bad faith, Confucian sophistry, and chicanery. It was von Brandt who really started the game of grab, and the Gérards, Cassinis and others were only too ready to imitate him and join in the *mêlée*. The wretched results are now manifested in the general scramble which is taking place, or at one moment threatened to take place, for concessions of all kinds. England has done well in not yielding to the temptation held out to her by the three "interfering" powers. It has ever been the policy of China to "pit one barbarian against the other," foment jealousies, and set her enemies by the ears. For the past dozen years or more Tientsin has been the haunt of rival syndicates, hanging like vampires about the ante-rooms of the viceroy, clamour-

ing for party advantages, accepting trumpery Chinese decorations, underbidding each other, cribbing rival specifications, and abandoning all national self-respect in the greedy rush for gain. Peking has not been much better. It is this indecent and undignified spirit which has now culminated in alternate cringing and bullying ; in the mutual thwarting of rival ambitions, no matter whether good or bad ; in religious animosities, monstrous claims, ultimatums, threats, seizures of territory from a defenceless power, and finally a general desire to partition China. The chief offenders in this respect have undoubtedly been Germany and France. What a contrast between Germany's cringing to Li Hung-chang in Berlin and Baron Heyking's overbearing attitude at Peking ! The policy of England, America, Japan, and Russia has been by no means always free from blame ; but, on the whole, neither Great Britain nor the United States has condescended to adopt the bagman or highwayman attitude in dealing with China, no matter under what provocation : even Japan—due allowance made for the demoralising effect of a successful war—has behaved with reasonable correctness. Russia seems to have latterly given way to temptation, partly under the stress of natural circumstances, and drawn into temptation by France ; partly through an unreasoning fear of being anticipated by England or Japan ; and partly because, however correct the Czar personally may be, the present holders of power in St. Petersburg have neither the sturdy, genuinely peaceful principles of Alexander the Third, nor the prudent masterfulness of Prince Lobanoff to help them in guiding the ship of State.

It is no exaggeration to say that America's policy in China has been honourable throughout. The successive Ministers or *Chargés* of the United States, Burlingame, Ross Browne, Lowe, Williams, Seward, Holcombe, Denby, have consistently maintained a policy of non-interference, neither intriguing with, nor against, other powers, making sparing use of the "gunboat policy," demanding no exclu-

sive privileges, and putting all their influence in the scale of justice and peace. The somewhat ostentatious abstinence from participation in the opium trade has at times taken a pharisaical form, for it is chiefly the opportunity that has been lacking. The anti-Chinese policy of some of the western states of America, again, is nothing to be proud of, and has at different periods undoubtedly weakened the diplomatic position of the U.S. representative at Peking; but very often circumstances were beyond the control of the Washington government; and moreover the reasonableness of placing some sort of check upon wholesale Chinese immigration has now been made patent even to the Chinese government itself. Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii, as well as California, have set their foot down firmly upon this point. The treatment of American and European missionaries and traders in China has been for thirty years past so conspicuously insincere and unfair that it is quite absurd to allow China to press successfully for recognition of her fullest literal rights abroad until she makes genuine reforms and does bare justice at home, purifies her finance, and extends due protection to transit-pass holders and missionaries. In Corea the position of America has been even more honourable and singular. From the beginning the United States influence has been almost entirely a missionary one, and indeed the present Minister, Dr. H. J. Allen, was at the outset a simple missionary doctor at Seoul. Followed first by Mr. and Mrs. Appenzeller and Dr. and Mrs. Scranton, Dr. Allen, and later the whole body of American missionaries of both sexes, by their intelligent activity and their rapid grasp of the language soon obtained a commanding influence over the Corean Ministers and even over King and Queen. The school work done has also been extensive and excellent. Messrs. Townsend and Co. soon followed in the speculating merchant line, and perhaps it may not unjustly be reproached to some members of this element that they were rather too ready to engage the inexperienced government in compara-

tively useless contracts. Mints, electric light installations, silk factories, plantations, steamer companies, and many more new-fangled speculations too far ahead of Corea's available resources followed each other in rapid succession; but it was by no means only Americans who induced the foolish and fitful rulers to squander their surplus funds. However, these are small matters to set against the generally wholesome influence exercised by the missionaries. On the whole, the advice tendered by Lieut. Foulke (Chargé d'Affaires), Admiral Shufeldt, Judge Denny (Advisers) and others was for the country's good, and it may safely be said that American influence, largely conveyed through missionary channels, has been the one sheet-anchor which has prevented the Corean craft from going utterly adrift amongst Russian and Japanese rocks and shoals.

Now we come to the consideration of British policy in the Far East. Great Britain has certainly from time to time pressed vigorously both for new advantages and for due recognition of established commercial rights, but British officials have consistently avoided a bullying attitude, whether in China or Corea. Moreover, any advantages Great Britain has claimed—even granting that she has occasionally bullied a trifle—have been for the common benefit of the whole world, and her influence in finance has never been exercised to the exclusive benefit of her own nationals. For some years the political confusion in Corea was so great and inextricable that it was well-nigh impossible to formulate any definite policy at all. Li Hung-chang was not always loyally supported by the Manchu government, or, what was the same thing, he could not count upon a continuous majority in the Great Council. He himself, again, could not fully trust his own agents in Corea, and the Chinese officials he sent were often recruited from a blustering compradoric gang of adventurers whose demeanour was apt to give offence both to the representatives of the Powers, and to the great viceroy's foreign advisers in Corea. Finally, Li Hung-chang did not know his own mind;

or what England was really driving at. To some it may seem that Great Britain has deliberately neglected to develop her due position in Korea; but it is rather a fact that amid the general confusion she did not see her way to adopt any definite or sustained policy. For some time she championed the sovereign claims of China, which were undoubtedly based upon historical truth and international right. Herr von Brandt has recently declared with some flippancy that England's policy in the Far East has chiefly taken the form of a "courageous retreat" before the pretensions of Russia and France. It is rather a fact that successive British Ministers—who it must be remembered are commissioned to both China and Korea—have throughout abstained from following the lead indicated to them by the representatives of those two and other Powers. They have refrained from meddling and bullying in company with France and Russia, as they have not condescended to cadge along with Germany. They have done nothing to weaken the rightful authority of the central Chinese government; they have whilst endeavouring to insist upon the rights of their nationals, refrained from pushing a weak and vacillating body into a quandary from which escape would be impossible. The Manchu dynasty would soon fall if it openly ignored the time-honoured aspirations of the Chinese. No British merchants and few British missionaries having for the first few years after Korea was "opened" thought fit to settle there, England had little specific ground to raise definite or specific complaints. The huckstering business done was left to the Germans. England's general interest in the trade of Korea was sufficient to justify her occasionally raising a powerful voice when necessary, and the maintenance of the able management of the Korean customs service under Sir Robert Hart's lieutenants has been the true pivot around which her indirect interests have centred. The actual trade, except a little shipping, has from the outset been in Chinese, Japanese, German, and American hands. Nothing in the history of the tangled web of intrigue which has



paralyzed all free movement in Corea during the past decade is more remarkable than the exceptionally able financial administration of Mr. J. McLeavy Brown, whose passive powers of resistance have successfully thwarted, at least, in some measure, the audacious policy of the new Russian representative, Mr. de Speyer, and secured for Mr. Brown in the shape of a decoration the immediate recognition of Her Majesty the Queen. Under Mr. Waeber such an aggressive policy would never have been attempted, for his diplomatic demeanour has always been thoroughly straightforward. Mr. de Speyer belongs rather to the Kaulbars type of diplomat, and will sooner or later land his country in a mess.

The influence of Spain, Italy, Austro-Hungary, and other European countries in China and Corea is too insignificant to be worth special mention here. In Japan no foreign power can be said to possess any real influence, for the tenacious little "Japs," whatever may be said in derision or in censure of their methods, have proved themselves up to the hilt quite capable of maintaining their own independence in every way.

There still remains a Great Power, and that by no means the least considerable, in the shape of Sir Robert Hart, whose influence, always moving in the most subtle, undemonstrative, and persistent way, has been the most powerful factor of all in keeping the Chinese Empire together in Manchu hands. Unassuming in manner, unobtrusive in action, almost insignificant in appearance, Sir Robert Hart possesses the unshakable firmness, the far-seeing breadth of view, the inexhaustible patience, the unwearying capacity for work, which go to make a great man, and which in his case combine to form one of the most striking characters of the time. He is at the head of what is locally known as the "Irish brigade" in China, a sagacious and prudent band of Ulstermen, of whom Mr. McLeavy Brown is perhaps the best second in general capacity. Both of them are the "fag-ends" of British

consular men, and amongst others who are or have been in the same group, whether in the consular or customs service, may be named Mr. R. K. Bredon, Mr. Jordan, Mr. McKean, Mr. Boyd Bredon, Mr. Moorehead, and others, all able men. The distinguishing feature of the Irish brigade is its closeness, clannishness, prudence, power of passive resistance, and a good, healthy appreciation of its own interests. Sir Robert Hart's administration of the Chinese customs service is one of the wonders of the time. It has occasionally been charged upon him that he has exhibited a certain degree of nepotism, or at least a strong preference for his own fellow provincials. In a very small way perhaps this is true; but he has never made the least secret of it, nor has he condescended to explain or to defend it. He has been entrusted by China with almost absolute authority, and in acting as an autocrat he is strictly within his rights: moreover, his favouritism, which is after all but sparingly exercised, is nearly always justified by the sequel, and bears but insignificant proportions to the whole mass of mixed humanity he has to handle. During the past thirty years Russians, Germans, Frenchmen, Americans—all nationalities in short—have been inexorably but fairly dealt with by Sir Robert Hart in common with his own nationals: no nationality has been unduly favoured, and the highest administrative discipline has been maintained throughout the service. No British Minister has ever in the least attempted to sway Sir Robert's decisions in his own sphere; and until recent events somewhat changed or shook the bearings of Peking policy, no other Minister ever succeeded in getting a finger into the customs pie. Posts as a rule have been distributed according to the proportion of each national's trade, and of course according to the merits and length of service of each officer: the Tsung-li-yamên have from first to last loyally supported Sir Robert Hart, alike against viceroys and foreign diplomatic intriguers. The most meddlesome and suspicious Government in the world has given him a loyal and free hand,

seeing clearly that its own pocket was best filled in this way. The crucial question in the recent ministerial struggles for pre-eminence at Peking—like all real essentials, more thought of than spoken about—has not been so much this railway concession, or that trade privilege, but the securing by anticipation of a reversioner to Sir Robert Hart belonging to some other nationality than England. Twenty years ago Mr. McLeavy Brown was universally spoken of as the rightful successor by right of qualification and ability ; but Sir Robert has always had his eye upon his own brother, or, failing him, a family connection such as Mr. R. K. Bredon, who, after once acting as joint deputy, has now been officially nominated to the sole Deputy Inspector-generalship. It was this difficulty which in 1884 caused Sir Robert Hart, after accepting the post of British Minister at Peking, to instantly resign the appointment rather than see the edifice he had so carefully reared fall into the hands of an incompetent successor. Mr. James Hart is not without great ability, but his candidature was a mistake (for reasons unnecessary to explain), and Mr. Bredon is a more suitable man. The point has now been gained, and Sir Robert may now, and probably soon will, retire upon his well-earned laurels. It is absolutely essential for the prosperity of British and American trade that the manipulation of the customs do never fall into the hands of men with protectionist and exclusive principles, such as a Russian, French, or even a German administrator would be sure to cherish. Moreover, none of these nationalities has succeeded in brilliantly financing, even at home, let alone in a foreign country. An American might do, if it were possible to find an American absolutely proof to side considerations ; but Americans, also, have never particularly shone in administrative finance, and their views are usually vitiated by the unsound commercial principles in vogue in their own country. For many years Mr. Detring, a German commissioner under Sir Robert Hart, has been coquetting with Li Hung-chang in the

hope of ultimately securing Sir Robert Hart's place; but he has lately come out in his true colours by accepting a post in the new German colony, and this after writing a long "honest broker" kind of letter to the Tsung-li Yamên, pointing out to them the dangerous aspirations of France and Russia as compared with the virtuous disinterestedness of Germany. If any German in China or Corea has ever shown the sturdy capacity to deal fairly with large bodies of men belonging to different nationalities, it is not Mr. Detring, but Mr. P. von Moellendorff, who is a man of a very much higher type, though perhaps not so "smart," or canny, or energetic.

For the past two years the foreign press has amused itself by twitting Great Britain upon her general isolation, and upon the specific decay of her influence in China. However, sagacious Frenchmen have been heard confidentially to declare their conviction that "*l'Angleterre trouverait moyen au bout de se tirer bien de l'affaire.*" Great Britain acted wisely in abstaining from the bullying policy which prompted France and Germany to assist in pulling Russia's chestnuts out of the fire for her by securing the retrocession of Liao Tung. So far as Japan has any true friend, Great Britain is the one, and the latter has besides by no means lost China's respect by standing aside and declining to interfere in the just results of a war largely brought on by China's own stupidity and want of good faith. The clamorous demands of Germany and France for "compensation" in exchange for their adding wings to the Russian tiger have exposed them in their real characters as Short and Codling; as good Samaritans who do not hesitate to plunder the prostrate sick man whom they affect to rescue from the footpad; and as gladiators who do not hesitate to hit below the belt and kick the wounded pugilist when he is down.

Lord Salisbury may be congratulated upon having secured excellent results with most unpromising materials. He has gained the confidence of both China and Japan; duly vindi-

cated our rights in Corea; abstained from imitating the policy of grab initiated by Germany; asked for nothing which our rivals cannot share; secured, it is said, the right to carry the Burma railway into Yün Nan; made certain for some time the continuance of Sir Robert Hart's policy; and restored British prestige in the Far East to its legitimate place. It only remains now to consider what the policy of Great Britain should be in the future.

There has been a great deal of talk about the imminent partitioning of China, which has been alternately described as a wild chimæra and a simple problem. It would be perfectly easy for Russia, England, or Japan to take the whole of China, if all countries but the one undertaking the duty would stand entirely aside. In the issue of October, 1896, a contributor to this Review pointed out (*vide* "The Far Eastern Question") how near Japan actually was towards accomplishing this end. All that would be necessary would be to take sudden possession of certain vital points (which need not be named here), make it worth the while of Chinese officials to serve under the new flag, throw open the whole country to trade, sweep away the *likin* stations, and let the restless elements gradually settle down. The Chinese have no dynastic patriotism whatever, and would at once rally round a new dynasty which should respect all their religious, social, and other prejudices. The English system would accommodate itself the most readily to this new state of affairs; but either Russia or Japan (both possessing land forces close at hand long beyond the means of England to transport over the ocean) would make up by dint of numbers for the shortcomings in policy which their more arbitrary and meddling methods would necessarily involve. However, such a single conquest is of course out of the question, with half-a-dozen jealous powers all eagerly pointing the same quarry. Even partition would be easy if Russia and England could loyally come to an understanding, based on the lines of division taken by the old Tartar and Manzi empires of

China; and it was probably with this conviction in his mind that the German Emperor determined to "cut in" before it was too late. The methods of France are altogether too meticulous and harassing, and she would never succeed in developing any "sphere" under her present colonial system: as it is, she has well-nigh driven all the best Chinese traders away from Tonquin: the Chinese there thoroughly hate French ways, which, however, succeed a little better in Saïgon, where France has a freer hand. The German Emperor no doubt calculated that his action would be followed by an immediate grab on the part of Russia, France, and England, in the midst of which scrimmage Germany would be able to make terms with the "top" man, and secure a small "empire" for herself. But, however it might suit England to govern the whole of China with the approval of the other powers (which she could easily do with 10,000 men and 500 civil officials), it does not suit her at the present moment to engage in a doubtful contest for a mere share of China so far from her bases. Hence she takes a strong stand on the principle of "free access for all to every point," under existing treaties. It is not likely that Russia's and Germany's dubious professions of liberality in keeping their ports open will count for much if ever they find themselves able to shoulder England out, and France of course is a hopeless case in the matter of "fair trade." So far as Russia and France are concerned, the German Emperor was right in his calculations: both powers at once showed a readiness to grab, on the supposition that England would do likewise. The moment for a raid was well chosen by Germany at the precise moment when Russia seemed to be successfully elbowing England out of Corea, the idea evidently being that Germany from her point of vantage opposite Corea would be able to make terms according to subsequent developments. German trade is entitled to a voice in Corea, and Germany will certainly claim sooner or later a right to be heard—unless

it suits her better to waive her rights there for considerations elsewhere. But, just as Lord Randolph Churchill "forgot Goschen," so Germany forgot Japan, and indeed the whole Anglo-Saxon race outside of England as well. If Japan cannot have any part of the mainland, she is certainly not going to assist to get it those who drove her out. If she has played her cards badly in Corea, she is not going to throw up her hands altogether and commit political suicide. Hence it is Japan's interest as much as England's that both China and Corea should be open on equal terms to all, which here means "them." It is by no means necessary that England and Japan should enter into an ostentatious and embarrassing alliance, and publicly assert this doctrine in season and out of season at the point of the sword. It is quite sufficient to come to a clear private understanding that both countries intend to have things so, and to take silent and concerted action to enforce at all convenient moments this specific and easily understood point. The joint fleets, supported by Japanese troops and English subsidies, are quite strong enough to secure this against any Russo-Franco-German combination. In other matters it suits both England and Japan best to have the hands free; nor will the United States tolerate any attempt on the part of protectionist European States to seize unfair commercial advantages.

There must be no shrinking in laying down the lines of British policy. Our trade with China is equal to all other trades put together, and as a nation we live by trade as no other nation does. We opened China for all the world, and in doing so we were generous to all the world. All traders have been able to avail themselves of Hongkong and the British settlements at the open ports, just as English traders have been able. Competition has been fair and square, and Great Britain has never favoured her own nationals in any way. Prussia made her *début* at Peking under British auspices, and in her obscurer days was always ready to avail herself of the services of British consuls, to accept

our protection, and to serve an apprenticeship in our counting-houses. English methods of administrative finance are everywhere successful,—at home, in India, in Egypt, in China. The essence of British success is entire absence of martinetism, meddlesomeness, favouritism, chauvinism, bribery, and corruption. The customs administration has been worked by Sir Robert Hart with perfect success for over thirty years. Sir Robert Hart must be maintained at all costs at the head of it until he chooses to go; and when his present nominee, Mr. Bredon, is no longer available, Sir Robert Hart's methods, which are British methods, must be followed. If it were not for the meddling and intriguing of French, German, and Russian Ministers at Peking, and of their governments at home, it might be well possible to find a Frenchman, German, or Russian on the present staff who would follow out Sir Robert Hart's system; for men of all three nations have proved excellent subordinates to Sir Robert Hart: for instance, M. Rocher, who subsequently took service in Tonquin. The difficulty is that no sooner do such trained men get free from English supreme management than, like Zulus who have visited London, they show a tendency to revert to the "savage" habits of their origin. That is the first point: the control of the whole customs' management must remain in British hands. The funds are not paid in to Sir Robert Hart, but to the Chinese bankers: his concern is only with the honesty of collection and accounts.

If China is to be preserved whole, *likin* must be gradually abolished throughout the Empire. It is an utterly corrupt, wasteful, and aggravating system, which discourages the people, irritates foreigners, ruins trade, weakens the dynasty, and does absolutely no good except by providing fat posts for a few hundred or thousand rapacious mandarins and their innumerable army of harpies. The modest sums sent to Peking are more than counterbalanced by the disorganization of legitimate revenues. The whole *likin* system should be modified and brought under the effective control



of Sir Robert Hart, and China should be thrown open : the result would be in effect the doubling of present import duties, with absolute immunity from further taxation : that is, a gain to all but the rascally mandarins.

Russia's services to civilization in Asia have been honourable and humane ; there is no reason to be jealous of her legitimate development, so long as she does not attempt to curtail those rights which we ourselves have created for ourselves and for the whole Christian world. Russia herself owes her advance to England's initiative. Her Siberian and Manchurian railways are likely to be for the benefit of mankind, and we ought not to grudge her the complete management and adequate protection of them within her own territories, and even within the sphere of her influence. But we have as good a vested right in Manchurian China as the Russians have, and we should insist upon railway rates within China which give no preferences to Russian commerce : moreover, the Chinese ports under Russian railway control should be kept rigidly open, and if there is any disposition shown by Russia to play false in this respect we should be prepared to forcibly insist upon our rights. If Russia were by herself in the matter there is no particular reason to suppose from her past history that she would not be generous, or at all events fair. But one of the rottenest planks in the unnatural Franco-Russian platform is that each partner is always nagging at the other to join in or "get up a row" about something in which the other has no legitimate concern. This is not the healthy aggressiveness of a vigorous nation, working for its own legitimate end, on honest terms of equality. It is like one surfeited dog leaving a second dog in exclusive charge of a bone until the first dog can get up a further appetite. Russia meddles in Siam, Egypt, and Abyssinia to please France ; France meddles in Japan, China, and Constantinople to please Russia. If Russia would mind her own business alone, and endeavour to settle her private disputes with England direct, and if France would do likewise, both parties to the present

contract would be the gainers. It is to be presumed that they do not really want a war with us, or they would declare it. This being so, it must be advantageous for all to have a solid peace. Hence any benefit derived by combining to deprive England of her just expectations must be counterpoised by the disadvantage to the unconcerned partner of bespeaking England's general opposition or losing her sympathy in matters only specifically concerning the inciting one of the two combining powers. Russia's policy has never been one of mere spite, as France's sometimes unfortunately is, and we can respect Russia's aims and aspirations. Let her therefore deal frankly with us on her own merits alone, and she will find us reasonable.

Germany, as we have seen, has been (as Prussia) nursed into commercial prosperity by England. Whilst noting German successes, and trying (in straightforward, legitimate ways) to get even with them, English merchants, as English colonies, have never in any part of the world attempted to curtail the equal privileges granted from the beginning to German merchants and ships. If there were any true liberty of speech in Germany, and if mercantile associations were allowed to combine and manage their own affairs with the same freedom that they do in England, it is doubtful if the bitter, hostile, jealous spirit which has manifested itself during the past two years would ever have gained headway. The fault lies with the ruler's pique rather than with the people's want of good sense. After all, the solid masses of the German people are patient, fair-minded, prudent, and clear-sighted. If unprovoked by the vapourings of the reptile press, uncited by the military or jingo cliques, uninstigated by the Junker and Agrarian oligarchies, the great body of the industrious bourgeoisie, as the manufacturing and trading classes, would probably decline to join in the ungenerous howl raised for the deletion of Carthage, which is not the policy of a gentleman. But it is rather alarming to find that in the whole of Germany not single powerful voice has been raised to condemn or even to criticise the recent extraordinary

departure from established rules of international morality. Admitting that the Chinese government has been tergiversating and overweening in the past, it is rather depressing to see a leading European power seize upon the territory of a weak and defenceless Oriental empire, amidst the cheers of its missionaries and merchants, without giving a chance to make amends. The German appetite having once tasted the sweets of easy plunder, the question arises: "Whose turn will come next? What weak power can be safe against similar incursions?" At present, certainly, it looks as though the soothing assurances of Herr von Bülow had secured a temporary lull; but if it turn out that the German people support the Emperor's aggressive policy in principle, and resolve to extend and develop it; if it transpire that a crusading spirit has begun to possess the nation, then there are black days ahead for China and Corea, and for the world. Germany's influence in Shan Tung can do nothing but good so long as she follows the English lead in the conduct of her new colony; so long as she does not make it a base for meddlesome intrigue and political surprises. But if any attempt is made to discriminate against or circumscribe British trade, then our course is clear: whatever disabilities are imposed upon British trade at Kiao-chou, proportionate burdens should be laid upon German commerce and shipping at Penang, Singapore, and Hongkong. In other words, Germany must prepare for a general commercial war *à l'outrance*. Meanwhile until a clear and permanent understanding is arrived at, no trust should be placed in any German words not borne out by German overt acts; the British fleet in China should be kept in a state of the highest efficiency; reinforcements should be kept at Hongkong and Singapore ready to occupy two certain places (not to be here indicated) in the China Seas; a tight controlling hand should be kept on all coaling stations; the Pacific fleet should be strengthened, and be kept always ready for eventualities; extra cables under purely British control should be laid along the road to the east; and the sharpest

possible watch should be kept upon all German movements. On the other hand, if Germany loyally adheres to the liberal policy promised, there is no reason why we should be jealous of German success, or why we should not share equally in it. The future, in short, lies with Germany, and not with us. Any lout can declare war: it requires statesmen to preserve peace. There is no need for an alliance with Germany. Let her, as Russia, deal with us direct where our joint interests are concerned.

As to France, whether it be that France is dissatisfied with Russia's pretensions, or that the Dreyfus trouble ties her hands, she has certainly done nothing serious so far to contribute or add to the "immoral" situation precipitated by Germany. In any case, France's position in the Far East is far weaker than is commonly supposed. The recent monstrous demand for £6,000 compensation for an outrage committed several years ago upon French territory seems to indicate that France intends to play the wolf again, and to affect to make the Chinese lamb responsible for the recent piratical attack on Haiduong and Haiphong. The fact is, France is thoroughly weak in Tonquin, both from a naval and a land point of view. A determined attack by the Chinese, pirates or otherwise, would make the French position very uncomfortable; and if France provoked us to subsidise the "pirates," *alias* patriots, her position would be untenable: it is the climate as much as the enemy that tries French soldiers. Hence France is probably trying to frighten China into the impossible task of preventing doubtful characters from crossing the borders before the hot season comes on. After April the climate of Tonquin becomes positively fatal for Europeans. There has been talk of France's ceding an island in the Bay of Haïelong in Tonquin to Russia, but it is scarcely conceivable that even the most rabid Russomaniacs in France will commit themselves to such a rash act as this. In India and Canada the French hold their possessions on the strict understanding that they are not to be fortified. A fortified Russian island off Haiphong would be the same

thing to France as a fortified Pondicherry to India, or a fortified St. Pierre and Miquelon to Newfoundland : moreover it would be more of a throttling hold upon France's policy in Tonquin than it would serve to intimidate England in Hongkong, and England could always take the island from an enemy, whoever the enemy might be. Finally, Russian seamen, with their drinking habits and gross food, are totally unfitted for manœuvring in torrid regions. We have got so much the start of France in South China that it really does not much matter what she alone, or she and Russia together, may try to do : we can always "go one better" at Hongkong and Singapore, not to mention the chain of ports between Suez and Penang. Hainan is part of China, and if France under any pretext takes the Hoihow forts—which mean the capital—we should at once occupy one or more of the southern ports, all of which are better than Hoihow, and decline to recognise French sovereignty over the island, our rights on which are given by treaty with China, and cannot be taken away by France. The climate of Hainan is just as bad as that of Tonquin, except at the ports, which have the advantage of fresh air and sea room ; it would be quite impossible for the French to occupy the mountain regions inhabited by the savages, and even in attempting to subdue the Chinese population, her soldiers would die off like flies. In the north of China France can do us no harm except as a makeweight, and so long as Japan has an understanding with us, as above indicated, we need not fear that. In short, France will think twice before thwarting us persistently in China.

But now, it may be asked, what is all this pother about ? Why should we not all go about our business as before ? England's past action in China proves that no nation has anything to fear, either for missionaries or for merchants ; by leaving English influence in trade and financial matters predominant as before. England has done nothing to prevent Russia's expansion, and would be delighted to encourage Russia's railway enterprises in her proper sphere

of Manchuria and Mongolia: peace is assured if Russia will simply do what we have a treaty right to expect—leave an open port at her terminus in China, and abstain from attempting to place our trade at any disadvantage in Chinese territory under her railway influence. So with Germany. Germany has now fully earned her own independent commercial position, but she got a start entirely through the liberality of England. Germany's seizure of Kiao-Chow may be a cynical and brutal act, but China's superciliousness and obstinate corruption have been so great that she forfeits all European sympathy in her trouble. Germany's action, if irregular, may therefore be condoned, if she honestly does as she promises to do, and as she has been done by. And the same with France. France enjoys the fullest privileges at Hongkong and Singapore, which two ports are the chief feeders of her colony: she makes a miserable return, it is true, but we have never complained, or meddled with her on her own ground. She is as free to compete *viâ* the Red River as we are *viâ* the Pearl River, with the distinction that she keeps us out where we welcome her in. But she has no right to demand a "sphere of trade influence" which she cannot conquer peacefully by straightforward competition; for all parts of China are open to us by treaty, and she is as free to avail herself of any advantages Nan-ning and Wu-chow may possess as we are. With Japan our sympathies are based on perfectly identical interests, and Japan, as also the United States and our self-governing colonies, are certain to insist on the rights claimed by us under the doctrine of "all ports open equally to all." We are not going to make the mistake of Russia and France, by allying ourselves with Japan simply in order to "watch each other's bone," and keep other dogs out of a dinner; but, as each essential point of common interest turns up, we shall loyally support and be supported by Japan, and insist on our rights.

There remains one more subject, that of Corea. It has been too readily taken for granted in the press that Corea must necessarily fall a prey to Russia. Nothing of the

sort. If Chinese, Japanese, and German traders sell goods to the Koreans, it is chiefly British goods that they sell. We have full treaty rights in Corea, and they were being exercised through our energy and diplomacy long before Russia had either the courage or the foresight to look beyond the River Tumen which separates her from Corea. When Corea shall have been further developed by American and Japanese railway contractors, by honest British customs administration, and by administrative reforms, our more active interests will be vigorously resumed, and neither Russia nor anyone else has a right to deprive us of our share, or to assert undue influence by bullying and frightening the wretched King, or Emperor as he is now called, into signing his trust away. The Koreans are a fine people, numbering, according to the official census just published, 5,200,000 souls. We have as much right to convert, govern, influence, and trade with, these five millions as Russia has. The English language and the Catholic and Protestant faiths have got a good start, just as English goods and German agencies have got a good start, not by chicanery, but by honest competition and faithful service. We do not attempt to deny Russia a chance, on equal terms, with her Orthodoxy and her Siberian produce; but we have a right to insist at least on perfect equality. Moreover, Japan has had hereditary and historical rights in Corea too. If in the recent war she made mistakes, she has paid for them a fair moral price, and has lost, without whimpering, a corresponding amount of influence. But even murdering a defenceless queen—an act at once repudiated by the Japanese government—is not worse than filching 400 miles of territory from a defenceless empire; and Japan has therefore a right to expect our sympathy and our assistance in maintaining the independence of Corea, against Russia or any other power. So far from abandoning Corea to Russia, we ought to at once set about consolidating our interests and influence there, and regard this point as a second in which Japan should be our tacit ally.

## CHINA IN COMMOTION.

BY A. MICHIE.

THE unwieldy mass has begun to move, and in a sense to fulfil the prediction uttered by way of threat by one of her statesmen a generation ago, that when she did move China might go faster than would be convenient for those who were then pressing her to make a start. Not of her own free will indeed, but under pressure from without, China has at last broken from her moorings, though not exactly in the direction which her well-wishers would have most desired. The stone was shaken out of its bed on the mountain-slope by the unaided enterprise of her despised neighbour, Japan; but the initiative which set it rolling was powerless to control its course. That office passed to another, probably the very last to whom Japan would have voluntarily resigned it.

Perhaps the world owes a debt to Japan for pricking a huge bubble, an anachronism among nations, and revealing to us who are at present living that which, under other circumstances, would have been a discovery reserved for a future generation. China has entered on a revolution whose vibrations will be felt in every hamlet in Europe for many years to come. Her future is pregnant with interest. The whole scheme of her international relations has been shifted from its base. Happy they who, anticipating the change, are able to readjust their attitude towards China in accordance with the plain facts now disclosed.

It is unfortunate, though the natural result of the whole course of her policy, that China's first important move should have been towards dissolution. The blow dealt by Japan at China's prestige showed her to be incapable of war by sea or land, and that consequently her territory lay open to every invader. By the same stroke her Government was disabled from carrying on intercourse with



other Powers on even terms. China ceased in fact to be an independent State. It was a tremendous fall, from being the central monarchy surrounded by tributary states to becoming the dependent of those whom she had theoretically treated as the dust under her feet. Only seven years ago the reigning Tsar visited the Far East, but was obliged to avoid Peking, because it was impossible to obtain a reception there that would not be derogatory. Some even of the provincial authorities took it upon them to snub him in the person of the Russian Admiral. How changed are the relations now when the Chinese Government is unable to move hand or foot except in conformity with the will of the Russian autocrat! The question seems to be: Whose vassal shall she be, that of some single Power or of a syndicate? and what shall be the conditions of her tutelage? Events are answering these questions every day. But such a change as that is not to be consummated without profound perturbations covering a considerable period of time.

Without presuming to cast a political horoscope which depends on many unstable conditions, on the interaction of interests and passions among the European Powers, and on the internal forces of the empire itself, of which we practically know nothing, we may excusably apply to the Government Mr. Curzon's summary that it is "a foredoomed and rotten Power." It might be saved by a miracle of regeneration, but miracles are beyond the range of practical politics. Nothing short of the infusion of foreign blood into the organism can stave off the final collapse. What may become of the present Government and administration is more than can be usefully prognosticated, but the elementary truths of their position are evident enough. The system which has worked indifferently well for a longer time than the English have existed as a people, and which, but for external pressure, might have continued in the same ruts for some centuries longer, has shown itself inadequate to the government of so huge an empire under the stress of international competition. The

Chinese case is not in all respects alien from that of the British empire. In both cases a self-satisfied monopoly has been rudely disturbed, and both are called upon to maintain in the new era of fierce competition the fruits of a golden age which has passed away for ever.

But if neither the Chinese people nor their rulers possess the genius to extemporise a reformed system which would meet modern necessities, how are they to resist the external pressure which is constant and automatic? The question opens out wide vistas of speculation which it would be useless to indicate in a page. One thing, however, appears obvious, that perhaps a principal source of the weakness of China is its vast bulk, as the moral weakness of Great Britain is her vast realized wealth. It is a reasonable supposition that China might have enjoyed more vigorous health had the territory and population been divided up into three or four independent governments. If in the case of China the limit of aggregation has been reached, the remedy which not unnaturally suggests itself is segregation. But this is mere theory, for between the suggestion of an abstract principle and its application to concrete and vital facts there is many a slip. China is sometimes likened to those organisms of low vitality which may be hacked and dismembered without pain; but after all she *is* an organism, with which it would be as rash for the political sciolist to meddle as for a tyro to undertake a problem of hydraulic engineering. Better that the changes which are inevitable should be brought about on evolutionary lines if the crude impatient West could be induced to exercise its irresistible influence, with firmness, indeed, but without gratuitous violence. The foe to be dreaded in China is Anarchy, which is worse than the worst government ever contrived by man. The Chinese people know it well, for they have bled and suffered in millions under the blast of that destroying angel. That is the dread alternative to a prompt working settlement of the present troubles.

But while sovereigns and statesmen busy themselves with the interests of dynasties and grand problems of the balance of military and political power there always remains the real China which, being silent, is apt to be ignored alike by its own and by foreign governments. But let come what come may to the rulers and their hierarchies, the abiding interest of the future must centre more and more in the ground substance of the country itself, in the immense multitude of civilised people, children of the soil who, like the *flora* and *fauna*, remain the same through all revolutions and dynastic scene-shifting. They have never been conquered like their rulers, but have always patiently engulfed usurpers. The talons of the *raptores* of Europe will not sink very deep into that living mass. You cannot call *them* at least rotten or foredoomed, though they may be stagnant and lack initiative.

The problem of the future for us is to act upon this mass of humanity, to stimulate, organize, and utilise them; to awaken tastes and appetites and provide the wherewithal to satisfy both. Reduced to its simplest expression this means Commerce, the greatest civiliser the world has ever seen, and now the recognised ruler of our modern destinies. Our very wars are but a phase of commercial competition. Our trade with China is one of the most important channels through which food reaches the working population of Great Britain, though they seem quite unaware of it. For the geographical distance of China has been nothing to its remoteness from our thoughts. She has been, and is, much nearer to Russia, France, and Germany. For the moment this broad statement may seem to need qualification, but the ferment of interest in the Far East which has recently agitated the country is but too likely to prove skin deep. One has only to go to the House of Commons when the subject is being discussed to perceive how dead its members are to the whole business. Government and Opposition unite in playing with and evading every practical issue, and there is none to interfere with their sport. And the chosen of

the people surely represent the spirit of the people, so that it must be the country itself which is dead to its interests in the Far East. So long as that is the case we may be sure that Government will never, of its own motion, inconvenience itself in support of those interests. Ministers will, when the occasion demands, vent platitudes without stint, an art which has come to express the whole science of governing.

The most pressing imperial need of the present time is not to acquire barren territory but to employ and to feed our people, and enable them to increase. All patriotism is bound up in that. It is not enough to say that if we lose our position in the world by neglecting to exploit the commercial fields open to us, or by permitting competitors to close the doors against us, we shall subside into the rank of a second or third-rate Power, with our own islands to cultivate and defend. The alternative is not so painless as that, for under the conditions supposed the "we" would have ceased to exist. To put the case moderately, our 40 millions would have to be reduced to one half in order to live, and what, under this drastic revolution, would have become of the superfluous twenty millions of British people?

It is now commonly recognised, but in a vague and far-away manner, that the most promising open market available for us now and in the future is the 300 millions of Chinese. That is to say, China should be the feeding ground for us and our children. We are now confronted with, but tempted to evade, the question how this invaluable preserve is to be retained and improved. Government leaves it to Parliament, Parliament to the People, the People to the Press which fills them daily with the east wind, and there the matter rests, and dies. So it has been, is now, and for all one can see, ever shall be. All parties may be equally to blame for the indifference, but they will not all equally suffer. It is the masses who will be the real victims, those who have no margin between wages and want.

Government initiative being with us at a discount if energy be lacking for collective private effort the problem of developing China falls back on individual enterprise. With a fair field and no favour this is perhaps the best of all, but it has rigid limitations. Private enterprise is bound to short views; it must work from hand to mouth; must have an eye to quick returns. In mere buying and selling the power of the private trader is infinite, in transportation it is capable of going far, and in manufacture it can achieve important results. But in certain regions there are barriers to be overcome which transcend the capacity of the individual adventurer. To give two illustrations from the actual position in China. There are certain difficulties in river navigation only soluble by a series of perhaps very costly experiments, conspicuously that section of the Upper Yangtze between Ichang and Chung King, some 400 miles, of which 100 are studded with rapids. Who is to invest money in experimental steamers to navigate these dangerous waters when success would be for the benefit of the whole competing world?\*

Again, take the case of railway communication between South-Western China and Burma. What private company would undertake a business that, in consequence of the mountainous character of the country and the direction of the ranges, would necessitate expensive preliminary surveys extending over several years?

This is not however the place to weigh the merits of individual initiative *versus* State-aided organization, but it cannot be ignored that in the China which we are considering British enterprise has to meet not foreign enterprise of its own kind but that, with the added force of powerful governments, directed to specific and far-reaching aims. In such competition the unorganized individual works against heavy odds.

Manchuria having gone to Russia—unless the Chinese

\* To the infinite credit of Mr. Archibald this problem has just been solved by the ascent of a small steamer to Chung King.

Government be supported in holding its own—Shantung being claimed by Germany, or taken without being claimed, and the French shadow being projected across the Southern provinces, what is saved for Great Britain and fair trade is an undefined strip of central China, and even that under nebulous conditions. This reservation, however, is supplemented by the notable concession from China of the opening of all the waterways of the country to foreign-owned and worked steamers. Out of the recent imbroglio this is absolutely the only thing which saves the situation for British trade. The other so-called concessions from China are the merest illusions conjured up to cover over the tracks of our national retreat. But the opening of the waterways, so long urged in vain, is of happy augury for this country and for all others who are inspired by healthy competition. What is now needed is to turn the privilege promptly and fully to account, before either the Chinese Government or the perverted ingenuity of British officers discover qualifications, restrictions, causes of delay, to the final extinction of the right as has happened in previous cases. The date named for the inauguration of the new measure is June next, and if the country can keep up its interest in the Far East till then, and there be sufficient readiness on the part of those immediately concerned, then the new Convention will be a boon and a blessing to the country. Nothing so important indeed has been done for commerce since the opening of the Yangtze in 1861.

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So rapidly do matters now move in China that anything written about contemporary affairs is obsolete before it is printed. Since the foregoing paper was written, Germany, France and Russia have been vying with each other in a noble competition for the dismemberment of China; and notwithstanding a resolution of the House of Commons, to the effect that the integrity of that empire is a vital British interest, an influential section of our Press, has been encouraging the two Powers, and by impli-

cation the French also, to help themselves to as much of Chinese territory as they covet. The "ice-free port" on the Pacific, which nobody thought of grudging to Russian enterprise, we are now told by English organs of Russian ambitions, can only mean the fortress of Port Arthur, a port which is utterly unsuited for a commercial outlet. The coasts abound in harbours well adapted for *termini* of the Trans-Siberian Railway. There are Malagas and Barcelonas in plenty, but nothing it seems will serve but the Gibraltar of that part of the world. So we are told by a chorus of daily and weekly journals. One of them indeed, and the gravest of them all, advances the remarkable proposition that the utilization of the Chinese resources in men and material by Russia will relieve the anxieties of India! The most secure site for a farm-house, on such reasoning, would be the moraine of a glacier.

Russia has no doubt been stimulated by the aggressions of Germany, who by the mouth of her rapacious representatives now claims the whole province of Shantung as her property. Yet nobody protests against what Mr. Gibson Bowles accurately described as "flat piracy." The law of nations and the decencies of international intercourse have thus been cast aside, and China with her 4,000 years of civilization is being treated by Germany with less ceremony than a tribe of cannibals would be, with whom it is customary to go through some form of treaty, or of picking a quarrel before expropriating them from their native soil. At this rate one does not know where China may be, or how much of it may be left when the *Asiatic Quarterly* appears on the 1st of April.

## “JAPAN—A FORECAST.”

BY J. MORRIS.

IT is not without conscious effort that people at home succeed in divesting themselves of national prejudice when endeavouring to take into their serious consideration the variations of the political barometer in the Far East. We are often unable to realize that the relative position of Powers is perpetually changing, one nation growing stronger whilst another grows weaker, but that all, as if impelled by fate, move with a common purpose toward some point which, as far as may be judged, is the goal of their national destiny. Japan is rising as China falls. Russia seeks to raise an additional wing of her empire upon the ruins of Korea. Japan has already risen, indeed, and with extraordinary rapidity, but her ascent has been made securely, step by step, in niches cut from the solid rock. She has not taken a pace forward until she has felt her footing beyond to be firm. At the present moment she holds the balance of power on the flank of Asia, and there is every indication that her Ministers have wisdom and adroitness sufficient to enable her to retain it. China, on the other hand, is losing ground day by day, in spite of the efforts of her friends to bolster up her falling greatness. She is more than ever at the mercy of that Power which may exhibit fewest scruples in dealing with the Tsung-li Ya-men. The more she is intimidated the greater the readiness she evinces to yield to pressure.

A question which is of the utmost urgency for the British people is that of our future relations with the Celestial Empire, and with those European nations which, like ourselves, are largely concerned in the commerce of that region, or with the strategical value of its salient geographical features should a political earthquake occur to shatter the existing fabric of government. Japan's action, too, is of vital importance to all.



We cannot make a more calamitous blunder than to imagine that our own interests and those of Russia, in that quarter of the globe, can ever be reconciled. No people are better able to appreciate the folly of such a supposition than are the Russians themselves. Even the vague ideas in which we now and then indulge that such reconciliation can be effected only make us, it is to be feared, the sport of St. Petersburg diplomatists. When we take it for granted that Russia is favourable to the extension of our commerce in North China we delude ourselves, and in nursing our delusion we favour the course of Russian diplomacy. However cordial may be the relations which subsist between individuals belonging to the two nations, it is an absolute certainty that the political and commercial aims of the Russians and ourselves must always be widely divergent as regards the Middle Kingdom. There is nothing in common in the aspirations of the two Powers, for one seeks extension of trade, and the other extension of territory, and the more speedily we come to this conclusion the sooner shall we be disabused of a false impression, and be prepared to fight our battle with weapons which afford us at least an equal chance of victory.

At the present moment many are consoling themselves with the reflection that,—because we are not openly at variance with the Muscovite,—we are enjoying the advantages of his loyal co-operation. This is a lamentable mistake to make. There can be no real peace between peoples whose interests are so diametrically opposed. At most it can be but an armed truce.

It is a grave question whether our people in the Far East are so enamoured of the principles of free and open competition as some who dwell at home appear to think. We live by our commerce, and the pioneers of our trade endure privations, it may be, and at all times no trifling inconvenience, in having to reside in a foreign land in the pursuit of their undertakings, and in the furtherance of our commercial interests at large. The greater the facilities which

may be given to the native merchant to trade over their heads, as it were, the longer will our countrymen, they are prone to think, be compelled to remain exiled from home. This may be stigmatized as a selfish view to take of affairs, but when men have been led to expatriate themselves they look at things from a standpoint essentially different to that from which those who may be in the possession of XIXth Century home comforts regard them here. In China, more especially, the men who have gone out to spend some of the best years of their lives on a foreign shore do not favour legislation which tends to render the competition of the natives more and more formidable. It may be urged that those who go out have no reason to complain, as they visit China for their own benefit, or at all events, of their own choice. But the commerce of Great Britain cannot be maintained without some sacrifice, and as we live by trade the pioneers of that trade justly regard themselves as entitled to consideration at the hands of those who frame the regulations by which commerce is bound.

The entry of the Japanese into the mercantile arena of China naturally gave rise to some perturbation of spirit among those who conceived that they enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the trade of that region, and no little resentment was at first engendered, but matters are bound to right themselves if we are true to our own principles.

Undoubtedly we are helping the Japanese in enforcing our free trade maxims, and Japan perhaps owes us a debt of gratitude if we open up for her those vast waterways which she would scarcely have been permitted yet awhile to explore alone. The development of the higher portions of the Yang-tsu-kiang and other rivers will offer excellent fields to the Japanese, who are quite as enterprising in their way as other people, and they will certainly extend their trade in China very considerably.

Japanese cottons will everywhere compete with those of Lancashire, and in many ways the free and open policy which we pursue will afford to the Mikado's subjects a

valuable opportunity. By some it is conceived that this will not be to the entire advantage of our own merchants, so that they regard the intrusion of Japan upon the market with mixed feelings.

But whatever successes may await us or which we may share with others along the Yang-tsu-kiang valley, there can be no doubt now that Russian influence is paramount in the North. The British mercantile community in Tientsin and elsewhere know it well. Our seeming reluctance to act vigorously has been by no means favourably interpreted by persons on the spot, and admitting that our merchants there must be biassed in the direction of British trade and institutions, there is every reason to suppose that as a class they come into contact with intelligent Chinamen who often know a vast deal more about their rulers than we give them credit for. And on all sides it seems to be acknowledged that Russia has obtained the mastery as far as the future of commerce is concerned, in that quarter, and that we have suffered proportionately in the estimation of the Chinese. It is to be remembered that the deliberations of the Tsung-li Ya-men are not always conducted with closed doors, and that there are facilities given for the acquisition of information which in this country are unheard of. Scraps of intelligence must now and then ooze out which are of the utmost value, and thus it happens that the British trader is often as well posted as even the diplomatic body may claim to be.

The mention of Japan's enterprise in the Yang-tsu valley brings us to the consideration of a most important problem. Japan must find an outlet somewhere for her rapidly increasing population, and for the superabundant energy of her manufacturers, and the question obtrudes itself,—will these facilities be met with in China, or where? If Japan should be driven southwards by the determined advance of the Russians, it will be toward Australasia or Polynesia that she may turn her attention, and she may trench upon ground that we are apt to mark out as peculiarly our own.

Thursday Island has long been a port of call for the regular line of Nippon Yu-sen Kai-sha steamers, which trade from Tokio to the Australian Colonies, and there have for two or three years past been signs that Japanese eyes are turned in that direction.

Japan's trade with the Colonies is very important already, and it is to be hoped that the opposition which has been aroused in some parts to the introduction of the "yellow peril" will not be extended to the subjects of the Japanese Emperor. The thousands of his people who have settled in the Sandwich Islands afford in their habits of industry and orderliness a striking testimony to their ability to prove themselves good citizens, and even the Straits Settlements are becoming more and more a field of activity for such of them as possess mining knowledge and experience.

Any action taken by our dependencies with a view to the exclusion of Japanese colonists will have the effect of barring the door to thrifty, sober, hardworking, and eminently peaceable folk, who make diligent labourers wherever they go. But it may also have far-reaching effects of quite another character. It is true that Japanese do not attach too great force to the opposition which they have already encountered, but should it become intensified we may look for retaliatory measures from the Tokio Government. And possibly the exclusion from Australia may induce a greater number to try what they can do in China, where their treaty ensures for them a firm footing.

Save that there exists at present no sort of pretext for the attempt, Japan might again cast an annexing anchor in the waters of Luzon, an island which, three hundred years ago, might have been Japanese property, but for the saucy demeanour of the Koreans toward Hideyoshi, the reigning monarch of Japan, and which necessitated their instant chastisement and delayed the execution of his long-cherished scheme of establishing his rule by force of arms among the Philippines.

The position of Luzon is such that Japan cannot afford to have it fall into the hands of a power which is likely to become antagonistic to her. Hitherto the Japanese have made but little headway there, for they are not needed as labourers, and as capitalists there is no available opening, the Spaniards having occupied the whole ground where investment is at all lucrative.

The notion seems to gain strength that the Japanese groan audibly under a burden of almost intolerable taxation. How the idea originated it would be difficult to determine, but it is instructive in this connection to compare certain figures :

In Great Britain we individually contribute on an average the sum of £1 16s. 6¼d. per annum in the form of taxes. If the Customs' revenue be included, the amount slightly exceeds forty shillings per head annually.

In Japan the total contributions to the exchequer from the whole nation amount to an average of six shillings and eightpence per head per annum !

The population of Japan's empire now amounts to forty-five millions. The Land-Tax has not been reassessed for a period of nearly a quarter of a century, and in the meantime land has nearly trebled in value to the farmer, in respect of its productive power. Though the agricultural portion of the population, which constitute three-fourths of the community, are thus very materially better off than they ever were, no essential increase of taxation has taken place. But the bare suggestion that the Government contemplates an addition to the dues is met by a storm of reproaches. Doubtless this is the result of an agitation fomented by its political enemies ; and the fact is that in Japan the stump-orator has been busy, and the Japanese farmer is not more ready to bear increased burdens than those of his calling elsewhere. Were there a truly national need, however, in some real emergency, money would be forthcoming ; and a comparatively small additional impost now, which would bring in millions to the exchequer, would

not be seriously felt by the nation if political schemers could be induced to cease their agitation.

Two great forces are continually at work in the Far East which may at any time produce startling results.

On the one hand, Russia perpetually seeks to subvert the influence of Japan in Korea, notwithstanding the existence of that treaty which was entered into for the joint protectorate of the peninsula by Russia and Japan when Marshal Yamagata was in Moscow and St. Petersburg at the Tsar's coronation. The constant aim of the Russian resident in Seoul is to destroy Japan's footing in the "empire"; and were it feasible for Russia to acquire a position in Korean affairs by which Japan would be entirely excluded, it would no doubt be attempted without loss of time. But no such insult to the Mikado's Government would be borne patiently at Tokio, and if the frequent efforts made to oust Japan be persisted in, there can be but one result, unwilling as the other Great Powers may be to have the peace of Asia disturbed.

The other change that may occur to alter the relative position of nations may be due to a growth of more friendly feeling between Japan and China.

Straws may serve to show the direction of the wind, and minor circumstances point to a gradual extinction of animosity between Peking and Tokio, as witness the appointment of a Japanese professor to the chair of Japanese literature in the college of the Tung-Wen-Kwan. The Chinese must have amended their ideas of Japan very materially before they could have brought themselves to consent to the nomination of a Japanese to a professorship in their university, seeing that only a few years ago they insisted that Japan herself owed absolutely everything to the teachings of Confucius or the arts and sciences of the Middle Kingdom!

But Japan has by her example urged China forward to a very appreciable extent. How much farther her influence will carry her it is impossible for anyone now to say. There

may be more sympathy between Japan and China now than the Western world believes. That there was sympathy in the past, in spite of occasional wars, is indisputable. What will be the effect if that friendship be renewed?

British commerce apart, the association of the two nations in a bond of progress would have everything to recommend it. If we be sincere in our professions that nothing but open trade and competition is wished for, then shall we be willing to see this junction of Tokio and Peking effected without any misgivings.

But other Powers would not be disposed to view it in the same light. Though we are for free trade, there are some to whom this policy does not commend itself in the least, and by those we may expect the sturdiest opposition to be manifested. It is possible, for instance, that Russia regards this junction as likely to be effected and is striving by her utmost endeavours to prevent its consummation. She probably views with alarm any approach to good feeling between the former antagonists, and aims to keep them apart as long as possible.

Nevertheless, it will have been clear to the Russians that Japan added indirectly the weight of her influence in instigating China to accept the Anglo-German Loan,—which loan goes in part to pay off the indemnity, and set free the port of Weihaiwei. Indeed, the Japanese benefit largely by the transaction, as the possession of ready cash at this time enables them to complete their preparations for defence. Even with a well-filled purse they cannot go into the open market and buy ships exactly to their liking ready made, but they can obtain munitions of war of almost every kind they need, and if time presses they may even content themselves with a class of warship which, whilst not all that they desire, may still be serviceable, and substantially strengthen their effective armament against a foreign foe.

They will relinquish Weihaiwei as soon as the indemnity is paid, *unless the Chinese ask them to stay*. This is a contingency not altogether so remote as might be imagined,

but though the device is one which might commend itself to the clever Celestials, they have equally astute minds to contend with at Tokio. It might be exceedingly agreeable to the Chinamen to see Japan involved in a quarrel with some European Power over a strip of Chinese territory, and there is some reason to think that China has not been averse to the occupation of the depot by Japan hitherto, as a safeguard against aggression from the direction of the West. Though neither Germany nor Russia could regard Japan's continued presence there as a *casus belli*, Japan would practically be placed in the position of having to defend the place against all comers. China herself would sit on the beach and watch her former foe struggling in the stormy seas of international displeasure.

The present Government of Tokio, however, consists in part of those older statesmen whose object it was from the first, whilst aiming at defence and not defiance, to make of their country a great naval and military power in the Far East. They saw that in this way alone could they hope to prevent its passing into the possession of some Western nation.

The opening of Japan to foreign trade and intercourse was in a measure due to the conviction that if resistance were longer offered the island empire would share the fate of China, which had been unwise enough to oppose the allies only a little while before.

The course which prudence then dictated has since been followed in the furtherance of those national aspirations which were awakened by the influx of foreigners and foreign capital. That which was begun as a solution of a problem which vexed a ministry has been carried on and developed into the standard policy of a people whose watchword now is Progress, but at the outset was Self-preservation.

The Ministers of to-day owe it to the nation which has entrusted its affairs to their care to take every opportunity of perfecting those weapons with which it has sought to arm



itself. If whilst in the possession of such excellent material they were to allow its interests to languish, a day of reckoning would come. But the part which Japan has to play is a prominent one in any case, and the Government accurately gauges the extent of its powers and its sphere of operations. The departments of the Army and Navy are now putting forth every effort to equip men and vessels for the fray which they foresee must come,—and come soon. They are not to be misled by Russian protestations. So long as Japan and Russia march on parallel lines in the Korean peninsula, there are no grounds for complaint on either side, but Korea is a State possessing no backbone whatever, and is destined ultimately, as surely as anything can be, to fall to that stronger power which may make the greatest show of force.

The contiguity of the Korean peninsula to the coast of Japan at Nagato province makes it impossible for Japan to assent to the establishment of Russia or any other nation at a point so dangerously close to the Japanese coasts as Fu-san. Were Russia to acquire this Korean port the dominions of the Tsar would be distant only thirty miles or a little more from the territory of the Mikado. With Russia it is a mere extension of her frontier,—with Japan it is a matter of national life or death.

Whilst it is constantly urged that Russia only demands an ice-free port for her Pacific trade, it is patent that were only such legitimate use to be made of the place, the accommodation could easily have been obtained by her without any encroachment upon the domain of an unarmed and utterly defenceless monarch. Japan would have been willing that the Russians should have made as free use of the always ice-free harbour of Hakodate, in Yesso, for example, as they do now of Nagasaki in the south, where they have always been welcome, and have been accustomed to winter and coal their ships without hindrance for many years past.

Moreover, in Korea itself they have been empowered to

establish a coaling station at Chemulpo, side by side with the Japanese, and there could be no objection to their leasing a plot of land on Deer Island, at Fusan, for coaling alone, in the way Japan has already done on that island, but to purchase land outright would be an infraction of the Yamagata-Lobanoff treaty, and Korea has no justification for permanently parting with it to the Tsar.

As already declared, the difficulty we encounter in dealing with the politics of the Far East is to recognise that we have prejudices to rid ourselves of in regard to Japan. Among a still numerous section of the British public the feeling exists that Japan's inhabitants are but one step removed from a condition of barbarism. The notion does us no more credit than it does the Chinese when they class us,—and "outside" nations in general,—as savages.

Were it necessary to adduce proof of the claims to our respect possessed by the Japanese, we might find it in the undoubted antiquity of their agriculture. At the time when Julius Cæsar found our own islands to be inhabited by the ancient Britons, who really merited the title of barbarians, Japan was ruled by the Mikado Sujin,—B.C. 97-29—and this is the text of one of his edicts :—

"Agriculture is the great foundation of the empire. It is that upon which the people depend for their subsistence. At present the water of Hanida and Sayama in Kawachi is scarce, and therefore the peasants of that province are remiss in their husbandry. Open up, therefore, abundance of ponds and runnels, and so develop the industry of the people."

Many of the artificial lakes constructed for irrigation purposes in obedience to this edict exist among the hills of Central Japan to this day, and the system of cultivation in which Japan stands unrivalled dates from before the Christian era.

The Japanese have superposed a later civilization upon that venerable system which they possessed from time immemorial, and have not emerged from a state of darkness

into light, but rather may be said to have added electricity to the fairly good illumination which they had before. They are a people whose experience goes back to remote ages in all that is not of Western origin, and their remarkable aptitude in adapting themselves to changed conditions should entitle them to our esteem. For the future, Japan, if foiled in her efforts in one direction, will try another. She is bent upon finding fertile soil for her superabundant labour. She aims at the extension of her power and prestige. The English-speaking nations of the earth were the first to bring her to their way of thinking in regard to the value of modern improvements, and are responsible if she has gone beyond them in her efforts, now that her ambition has been fully roused.

The nation which first secures the hearty co-operation of Japan in its Eastern policy will be in a position to set at naught all the efforts of other European Powers to attain an ascendancy there.

## FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN WEST AFRICA.

BY H. R. FOX BOURNE.

MORE good than harm ought to result from the controversies that have lately been going on about French and English movements in West Africa. It is scarcely conceivable that either of the two nations which, in spite of occasional jealousies, have found enormous advantage in the friendly relations they have maintained for more than eighty years should allow itself to be forced into a disastrous war with its neighbour by any quarrel that might arise from its own or the other's blundering in the scramble for African territory. But such a war has for some time been within the range of possibility, and it is on every ground desirable that the disputants should come to terms without further delay. This will be all the easier if the guides and exponents of public opinion in each country will endeavour to take an impartial view of the situation, instead of, as is too often the case, putting forward unreasonable claims and overstating the arguments on their own side while refusing to meet fairly the contentions of the other. We in England cannot expect justice from the French unless we are prepared to do justice to them. If we want the present rivalry to cease, or at any rate to be cleared of its scandals and dangers and to be turned into a rivalry only helpful and honourable to both nations, as it well may be, we must be ready to make concessions as well as to ask for them.

The rivalry, it must be remembered, is no new thing. It began in the sixteenth century, and France had done much more than England to obtain what seemed to be a sure footing on the West African coast before 1815, when her defeat at Waterloo deprived her of all but the Senegal settlement which has served as the starting-point for fresh conquests. More than sixty years ago plans were in

progress for the appropriation of Timbuktu, and the old dream of a great French empire over nearly the whole northern half of Africa, or even more, took fresh life with the planting of Algeria in 1830. While Englishmen were content, or barely willing, to keep up a few ports and forts on the west coast, and applied themselves to commerce without thought of conquest, their rivals, more eager for territorial possessions, were hoping, and, to some extent, preparing for the fulfilment of their dream. The Berlin Conference of 1884-5, which recognised the Congo Free State as well as the Royal Niger Company, and cleared the way for German and other encroachments, offered some slight checks to French ambition; but these were more apparent than real. Even the purposely vague and generally misunderstood rule of the Berlin Conference as regards "effective occupation" raised no substantial hindrance to any aggressions that might be seriously attempted, and was, in fact, helpful rather than prejudicial to such aggressions. The "effective occupations" provided for by it were limited to the coasts and, to be valid, must be of a sort "to ensure the establishment of authority sufficient to protect existing rights." The door was left open for the expulsion of pioneers who failed in the obligations that they had taken upon themselves.

When the Berlin General Act was agreed to in 1885, and for the next two or three years, the "effective occupations" of the French were small in West Africa, but they were larger than those of the English. They comprised the long stretches of Senegal and Rivières du Sud coast on both sides of our already hemmed-in little Gambia settlement, extending farther into the interior than any of the British possessions, and also the newer settlements of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey, which, though not at first made much use of, from the first threatened our Gold Coast and Lagos colonies, and the Niger interior claimed by us as well, just as Sierra Leone was threatened by Senegal.

British statesmen and even British merchants, wisely or unwisely, for a long while gave little heed to the French threatenings, and took no precautions against them. Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, "the white man's grave," had some value set upon it as a coaling station and a halting-place in other ways serviceable for ships going south or crossing the Atlantic; but the rest of West Africa was only cared for by Englishmen as a market for trade, and it was considered that all the trade possible or worth having might be secured by means of a few stations on the coast at which vessels could unload their cargoes of European commodities and be reloaded with such commodities as the natives chose to barter for them. So it was till less than twenty years ago, when all our possessions in this part of Africa consisted of Bathurst, at the mouth of the Gambia, Freetown and a few other Sierra Leone ports, Accra and a few other ports on the Gold Coast, the island of Lagos, and some yet more straggling though more profitable commercial establishments on the swampy shores and in the interior of the Niger delta which were feebly looked after by a British consul and not formally placed under British control till 1884. The Oil Rivers Protectorate, as it was then called, was only set up as a foil against the new and unexpected German appropriation of the Cameroons, which followed the planting of the German flag in Togoland, on the eastern frontier of the Gold Coast.

Before that time we had been involved in numerous little wars with the natives, but these, like many of later date, had for their sole object the punishment of the natives for not supplying our traders with as much palm-oil and so forth as they wanted in exchange for the rum and gin, the fire-arms and gunpowder, and the other articles that they were anxious to dispose of at a good profit. Even Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition in 1874, our most important military undertaking in West Africa, by which the once formidable Ashanti empire was broken up, aimed merely at the protection of trade on the Gold Coast from ruin at the hands

of the hereditary foes of our Fanti customers, and it resulted in nothing but the disorganization of native communities that we made no serious attempt at governing. Something in that direction was, it is true, attempted, and more was proposed. After 1874 there was considerable meddling with the Fanti and kindred tribes of the Gold Coast whom we had promised to befriend. The nominal borders of our Sierra Leone Protectorate was also extended. In like manner "protection" was accorded to the coast natives and the traders settled among them on the mainland both east and west of Lagos, and in 1891 the Oil Rivers administration was reconstituted and greatly improved as the Niger Coast Protectorate, under the direct rule of the Crown, as distinguished from the Royal Niger Company. This Company, to be referred to presently, differed in its inception and purposes from all other British enterprises in West Africa. To it, till about four years ago, was entrusted nearly all such British empire making as was contemplated or ventured upon thereabouts.

Meanwhile, French ambition has been uncurbed, and French activity untiring. The opening of a route from the Senegal to the Niger was proposed and began to be planned as early as 1863, and, though little was done for twenty years, the line of advance was marked by forts before 1884. A footing was thus obtained for assumption of authority over what is now the French Sudan, and some of the followers of Samory, the boldest and most influential of the native rulers who refused to surrender their independence, were before long forced into the hinterland of Sierra Leone, where the British Government had trouble with them and their French pursuers in 1893. Driven eastward with others of his followers, Samory is at present in the hinterland of the Gold Coast, and thus provides one of the excuses for French expeditions into districts in which fresh troubles have arisen between us and our neighbours. For more than eight years there have been intermittent controversies about French encroachments

in what were claimed as British spheres, and frequent protests by or on behalf of the Royal Niger Company, against what it regarded as appropriation of its territory. Till quite lately, however, the Downing Street authorities appear to have satisfied themselves that all needful precautions, apart from anything the Niger Company might do for itself, had been taken to uphold British "rights" by despatch-writing, and, it would seem, no action whatever was deemed necessary for the protection of the hinterlands of our Lagos, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone colonies.

These colonies have certainly been concerned in several little wars and annexing expeditions within the past few years whereby our "effective occupations" have been nearly doubled in Sierra Leone, where the French had left us but little territory to acquire, more than quadrupled in the Gold Coast interior, and increased at least tenfold in the Lagos interior. But each and all of these wars and expeditions—whether against Samory's wandering followers, for the overawing of the Ashantis and others in Kumasi and beyond it, or for the subjection of Jebus, Egbas, Ibadans and other branches of the Yoruba family—had for object not the baffling of French intrigues but either the punishment of stubborn natives for not trading enough with us, or the pacific opening up of fresh and profitable trade-routes. Mr. Chamberlain is the first English Colonial Minister who has agreed with our Chambers of Commerce as to the importance of "developing our West African estates," and given what may be regarded as statesmanlike expression to their more or less crude projects, and he has found already that a good deal of conquest is indispensable for such expansion of commerce as he is resolved upon. It is in the interests of commerce, pre-eminently if not exclusively, however, that he and all intelligent approvers of his policy favour or tolerate so much conquest, and only so much, as the working out of that policy is supposed to require. Thus, though the two zigzags often overlap one another, and may be crookedly



approximating to the same line of movement, there is to-day, as there has been almost from the first, a broad difference between English aims and methods and French aims and methods in West Africa. The chief purpose of the latter nation is territorial aggrandisement, the chief purpose of the former is trade expansion.

In the case of each nation, of course, there is desire to assist the object mainly sought after by subsidiary use of the means mainly resorted to by the other. Her colonial possessions, especially in West Africa, are heavy financial burdens on France, and to lighten these burdens, all that can be is done to secure profitable trade for private individuals or corporations, and a satisfactory revenue to the State from taxes on the trade of all who are not French subjects. But this policy has not as yet proved as successful as was hoped. Protective and often prohibitive tariffs on foreign goods, in checking foreign trade, confer small benefit on French producers and merchants and lessen the revenue and the resources of the State. Travellers like Lieut. Hourst, whose instructive narrative of his expedition in 1896 from Senegal to Timbuktu,\* and thence down the Niger to its mouth has recently been published, deplore the misfortune. "Ah!" exclaims Lieut. Hourst, "if Dakar were English, what a commercial town of the first order, what an impregnable citadel, what a well-provided arsenal, our rivals would long ago have made of it! But Dakar is French. Without denying its progress, one cannot but regret that it has been so slow." There can be no doubt that the failure of the French to open up a lucrative trade with the natives they have done much to master between Senegal and the Upper and Middle Niger as far as Say, their reasonable belief in the wealth waiting to be obtained from the French Sudan by adventurers competent to obtain it, and their expectation that such competence will be theirs if they can secure a direct passage to the rich interior from Dahomey instead of being

\* *Sur le Niger et au pays des Touaregs.* Paris, Libraire Plon, 1898.

left to reach it by a circuitous route from Dakar, furnish at least one of the motives for the schemes that are now causing international trouble.

Nor is commercial England unmindful of the supposed advantages of conquest. We have been led, almost against our will, to vastly augment, as has been noted, our protectorate over territories in the rear of our trading settlements on the coast, and the principal excuse for the establishment of the Royal Niger Company, was that it might do, more easily, cheaply, and efficaciously than any machinery directly administered by the Crown and responsible to Parliament, the empire-making projected for a large section of the African interior.

As the present difficulties with France are primarily and prominently due to the proceedings of the Royal Niger Company, and the French jealousies consequent thereon, and as the subject is on other grounds of immediate interest and importance, its affairs, so far as the secrecy in which they have always been veiled will allow, may be worth looking into with some detail.

The company grew with the efforts of Liverpool, Glasgow, and other merchants, throughout more than a century—almost from the commencement of the traffic in African slaves for use in America and the West Indies, in fact—to extend their dealings with the luckless savages of the Niger delta. The vicious slave-trading carried on by bartering for human chattel the guns and gunpowder with which the sturdier natives could capture their weaker neighbours, and the rum and other intoxicants that recompensed their cruel services, and in so doing added to their degradation and debasement, was in time put an end to; but it was followed by a commerce only less offensive in so far as oil and other native produce were substituted for the slaves formerly coveted by Europeans. Intoxicants, among which Hamburg gin partially and gradually replaced American and West Indian rum as the most effective purchasing agent, continued to tempt and demoralize the natives.

Futile attempts were made to improve the commerce, and the worthier sort of missionaries denounced it, while enterprising travellers, some of them assisted by the British Government, showed that beyond the sodden mass of corruption which "civilization" had intensified near the coast there were fertile regions peopled by millions capable of enlightenment and also likely to be useful customers. At length, under the inspiration of Mr. Goldie Taubman—now Sir George Goldie—who first visited the Niger in 1877, a number of English merchants organized themselves in 1879 as the United African Company, flavouring with philanthropic professions their project of a great trading monopoly. "From that time," says Mr. Scott Keltie, "under the influence of Sir George Goldie, it was resolved to try to keep the peace among the hundreds of heterogeneous tribes by welding them into a homogeneous state, and to obtain a charter for the administration of the district." In the hopes of thwarting this scheme French companies, encouraged by Gambetta, entered the field; but the French companies were bought up or absorbed by the United African Company, which in 1881 raised its nominal capital from £125,000 to £1,000,000 and renamed itself the National African Company. It sent out steamers and launches, made Lokoja, at the junction of the Lower Niger with the Benue, its principal station, and announced its intention of stretching on to Lake Chad and acquiring control over the kingdoms of Sokoto and Gando and all intermediate or adjacent native communities. French interference having been checked for a time, dangerous competitors appeared in German adventurers, who pushed up from their new colony of the Cameroons, but these also were restrained by the enterprise of the late Joseph Thomson, who succeeded in negotiating treaties with the kings or sultans of Sokoto and Gando and others, and the Anglo-German agreement of 1886 roughly fixed the barrier between the two "spheres of influence." Before that, in 1885, the Berlin Conference had assigned certain rights and correlative responsibilities to

the British Government, on behalf of the National African Company, as regards the lower half of the Niger, and to the French Government as regards its upper half, and in July 1886, the English corporation, which ultimately took the title of the Royal Niger Company, obtained the charter for which it had been waiting five years.

By the terms of its charter the Company was empowered "to carry on business and act as merchants, bankers, traders," etc, "to form or acquire or carry on trading stations, factories," etc, "to purchase or otherwise acquire, open and work mines, forests," etc, and "to do all other things whatsoever which it may consider in any way incidental or conducive to the foregoing objects or any of them." Its trading powers were complete, subject to its continuing to be a British company, to its being under the control of the British Government, to its not being allowed "to set up or grant any monopoly of trade," to its levying only such "customs, duties, and charges" as might be authorized by the Crown, and to "the customs, duties, and charges hereby authorized" being "levied and applied solely for the purpose of defraying the necessary expenses of government, including the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, and the performance of treaty obligations." And its administrative powers were no less comprehensive. Having possessed itself of treaties with about three hundred native potentates, purporting to be valid and to bring under its rule all the territories claimed by it, the Company was "to hold and retain," etc., "full benefit of the several cessions aforesaid, or any of them, and all rights, interests, authorities, and powers for the purposes of government, preservation of public order, protection of the said territories, or otherwise, of what nature or kind soever." The principal ground, as alleged, for the granting of the charter being that, under it, "the condition of the natives inhabiting the aforesaid territories would be materially improved, and the development of such territories and those contiguous thereto, and the

civilization of their peoples would be greatly advanced," it was evidently expected, though not insisted on in the charter, that these advantages should be aimed at. It was stipulated, among other things, that "the Company shall, to the best of its power, discourage and, as far as may be practicable, abolish by degrees any system of domestic servitude existing among the native inhabitants, and no foreigner, whether European or other, shall be allowed to own slaves of any kind in the Company's territories."

The area claimed by the Royal Niger Company is not defined by its charter, and but vaguely indicated by the treaties on which its claims are based. Most of these treaties are manifestly untrustworthy documents. They were negotiated—whether honestly or dishonestly need not here be considered—with native chiefs whose pretensions to lordship over very extensive dominions were readily credited by the Company and its agents, but open to dispute by their opponents.

That is the case, for instance, with the Sokoto and Gando treaties arranged by Joseph Thomson in June 1885, and the treaties supplementary to them which were procured by Mr. Lester in April, 1890. Sokoto and Gando are merely the centres of such authority as can be kept up by the two despotic and marauding chiefs who have succeeded to some fragments of the Fulah or Fellatah tyranny established long ago over the Hausas and others resident in this part of Africa. About 1802 the Sheik Othman established by conquest what was known as the empire of Sokoto, which on his death, in 1817, was unequally divided by his two sons. The elder, as Sultan of Sokoto, assumed mastery over all, or so much as he could master, of the country north and east of the town of that name, claiming even the rival empire of Bornu, between Sokoto and Lake Chad. The second appropriated the smaller residue of Othman's dominion, chiefly to the south-west, recognising his brother's spiritual supremacy, but no other. This partition of power has continued to this day; but neither sultan is more than

an arbitrary tyrant oppressing, with help of the few hundred members of his Fulah clan, an alien oligarchy of a sort, as many thousands or millions of vassal or servile Hausas as he can keep hold over. "The kings of the various Hausa States at the present time," wrote the Rev. C. H. Robinson, one of the spokesmen for the Royal Niger Company, in his "Hausaland," two years ago, "are so far subject to Sokoto or Gando that they are compelled to pay a very considerable annual tribute, and at the same time under an obligation to furnish, when called upon to do so, an armed contingent in the event of war. Subject, however, to the above limitations, the kings of the various provinces are free to make their own laws, to keep their own armies, and to raise what taxes they please." The tribute exacted by the Sokoto and Gando despots consists of yearly batches of slaves, raided for if they are not obtained without trouble, and the large subsidies by which the Royal Niger Company connives its "treaty-rights," mostly, if not solely, it is said, take the shape of arms and ammunition which the sultans find convenient in maintaining their tyranny.

The Company's compact with them, which resolves itself into little or nothing else, would scarcely meet the requirements of the Berlin Conference as regards "effective occupation" even if the Conference's rule about "effective occupation," were applicable to the African interior. Nor, assuming the validity and efficacy of the "treaty-rights" so far as the admissible authority of the Sokoto and Gando sultans extends, can anyone say how far it does extend.

On neither of these matters have the French ever admitted the Company's contentions. An approach to an adjustment of frontiers both on the Sokoto side of the northern territories claimed by the Company, and eastward as far as Lake Chad, was made in the Anglo-French agreement of 5th August, 1890, which contains this clause: "The Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises the sphere of influence of France to the south of the Mediterranean possessions, up to a line from Say on the

Niger to Barrua on Lake Chad, drawn in such a manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto ; the line to be determined by the commission to be appointed." But the Anglo-French Boundary Commission proposed in August, 1890, which met in 1892, and others that followed it, dealt only with the more pressing questions as to territorial limits near the coast. The Niger Company has done little more than grumble, and has done nothing whatever to set up what may be construed as "effective occupation" beyond the subsidising of its slave-raiding protégés while M. Crampel, Lieutenant Mizon, M. Dubowski, M. Maistre, and others have been exploring regions practically unknown to the Company which regards them as its property, and have been procuring from many Chiefs rival treaties of which the Commissioners now in Paris will presumably take account.

The French claims are, of course, hampered by the Say-Barrua line vaguely agreed to in 1890. "No one will deny," says Lieut. Hourst, "that we committed a gross folly in accepting the Convention of 1890. Above their vast factory on the Lower Niger, the English have no more pretension to put forward than we have to a protectorate over the natives inhabiting a problematical hinterland. However, the thing is done ; once again our faulty geography, our indifference as to African affairs, has allowed our rivals to make game of us by assertions which a little less ignorance would have enabled us to refute."

Lieut. Hourst, who in 1896 made some acquaintance with the people on the left bank of the Niger below Say, maintains that the Dendi, the Mauri, the Djermi, and the Kebbi to the north, west and south of Argungu, the town which a French expedition was reported to have entered last February, are now independent communities, owing no allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto, though occasionally raided by him, and eager for French protection from his tyranny. In this he may be wrong ; but the question is

one for the Paris Commission to decide. It was not decided in 1890 whether the Say-Barrua line is to be straight or curved or crooked, only that it was to leave to the Niger Company "all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto." If, as the Company asserts, nearly the whole of Hausaland, stretching up to Air or Asben, and extending from the Niger to Bornu, "fairly belongs to Sokoto," the Company has a paper title to territory north as well as south of the straight line between Say and Barrua. If the French view is correct, the line must be a curve, deflecting far into the south.

The Sokoto or Argungu question, partly dependent on the construction to be put on the agreement of 1890, is one of the more important matters now in dispute. Yet more important is what may be called the Bussa and Nikki question. The King of Nikki claims dominion not only over his immediate subjects, but also over all the Borgu communities—who are pagan, not Mohammedan—on the west of the Niger; and one, perhaps the principal, of his vassals is the King of Bussa, whose seat of government is on the river-side, some sixty miles above Fort Goldie, which is, or was till lately, the Company's northernmost station on the river. These Borgu communities more than cover the large triangle over which a British protectorate was proposed in 1885 and formally announced in January 1895, but never formally recognised by France. With the Niger as its base, this triangle has for one side a straight line drawn due south from Say, for the other the 9th degree of north latitude, which was the limit fixed by an Anglo-French agreement in 1889 for extensions of our Gold Coast and Lagos colonies.

As far back as November 1885, the Niger Company made a treaty with the King of Bussa, whom it then supposed to be supreme over the whole Borgu country, and that treaty was supplemented by another in January 1890. On its being ascertained that the King of Nikki had, or was supposed to have, paramount power, Major



Lugard was sent up to secure his allegiance and arrange a treaty with him also, and this was done on 10th November, 1894. A fortnight later, however, on 26th November, a French agent negotiated another treaty with the King of Nikki, placing all his territories under French, instead of English, protection. Presumably the earlier document is the more authentic and authoritative of the two. But the French do not think so, and thus the struggle for possession of the whole country of which Nikki appears to be the capital began, or, if it had begun long before, entered on the critical stage in which it remains to-day.

About four years ago there was much quickening of French enterprise all over the country east of Senegal and to the north of the British colonies, evidently encouraged by the modest expeditions sent into the interior from Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Lagos. Thus more or less arbitrary and fanciful claims were made to towns and districts over which little or no real control was attempted. Timbuktu, which had long been coveted, and the importance of which, as the key to the Western Sudan had been greatly exaggerated, having been pompously taken possession of early in 1894, it was deemed necessary to promptly extend French influence south and east as well as north of it. As French acquaintance with these districts increased, moreover, the conviction grew that, if any profit was to be obtained from owning them, they must be approached by some easier and safer route than that which had been started from Senegal. It was partly, at any rate, for this reason that the hitherto neglected French "sphere of influence" in Dahomey, between the German colony of Togoland and our Lagos protectorate, was turned to account, and Kotonu, near Porto Novo, the old trading town on the coast, was made a base of military operations.

Captain Toutée in his entertaining "*Dahomé, Niger, Touareg*," tells how on the last day of 1894 he started from Kotonu on what purported to be nothing but a scientific

expedition. Traversing Dahomey from south to north, he turned eastward into the territory supposed to be assigned to Great Britain, and, on his way to Bajibo, on the Niger, early in February 1895, negotiated treaties with the chiefs of Saki, Kishi, and other towns, who, he says, were quite ignorant of any English authority over them. He reached the Niger on 13th February, where he was welcomed by the King of Bajibo, on the left side of the river, who crossed over to visit him, and from whom he learnt that the people there were free from English interference. Thence he went down stream as far as Jebba, then the most advanced station of the Royal Niger Company, whose only custodian he found to be "a black man, a native of Abeokuta," but with power enough to prevent his having any dealings with the natives. The "boycottage" he endured at Jebba was, he considered, sufficient proof that the Company violated the requirement of the Berlin Conference as regards keeping the Lower Niger "open to the traffic of all nations," and from the absence of even black deputies of the Company above Jebba he concluded that Frenchmen had as good a right as Englishmen to appropriate the country beyond that spot. Accordingly, on returning to his former halting-place opposite Bajibo, he established there in March a station to which he gave the name of Fort Arenberg, by way of asserting that the Niger was from that point under French control. Before leaving Arenberg he received from Mr. Watts, the Company's representative at Lokoja, an indignant protest against his proceedings. But, undeterred thereby, he went up the Niger to Bussa, Gomba, Ilo and other places on the left bank, entering as he says, into friendly relations with their chiefs, and so on, past Say, to Farca, far beyond the disputed region. Returning in July to Arenberg, he was able to report that it was prospering under the French rule he had set up. He was hospitably treated by the Niger Company's officials as he journeyed homewards. This treatment, however, as is well known, was in due

time followed by expostulations from the Company, and from the British Government on its behalf, which were so far successful that the French Government repudiated his proceedings. For all that, and although Fort Arenberg has been rechristened Fort Goldie, with the British flag flying over it instead of the French flag, Captain Toutée's expedition has given shape and strength to the French claims to possession of the whole Borgu district which is at present the principal ground of diplomatic, and as yet happily of nothing worse than diplomatic, strife. Rightly or wrongly, the French contend that, English treaties and protests notwithstanding, the Niger Company has nothing to make good its title to ownership of the district, and that consequently they are free to take possession of it, as, indeed, they have already pretty well done, so far as military expeditions and flag-planting constitute possession. Rightly or wrongly, too, they consider that the appropriation of this district—with a direct land-route from Dahomey to French Sudan, and especially with access at any rate to Bussa, below which there is a clear waterway, but above which the Niger is blocked by numberless shoals and rapids—is necessary to proper use and development of nearly all their recognised territory in West Africa.

The thorough carrying out of this scheme, it is important to note, would seriously affect the prospects of our Lagos colony as well as those of the Niger Company. Efforts to develop the trade of Lagos with the numerous Yoruba communities in its rear have led to the assertion of British authority over Abeokuta, Ibadan, and other places more inland, and its further extension towards the Niger valley is looked forward to. Amusing, if not grave, complications arose two or three years ago from attempts of the Lagos authorities to overawe the Ilorin people who were raiding for slaves in the Ibadan district, and whom the Niger Company regarded as its subjects. The Company was accordingly called upon by the Crown to keep the Ilorins in order. Hence, in part, ensued the largest military enterprise as yet undertaken by the Company.

In April, 1896, as Sir George Goldie says in his official report, the Company "finally decided to put an end to slave-raiding in the territories lying to the south-west of the Niger, and to satisfy the Government of Lagos by obtaining adequate guarantees from the Emir of Ilorin against renewed frontier troubles." Another, and probably the chief, motive for this expedition is not officially recorded. The Company was seriously, and reasonably, alarmed by the encroachments of Captain Toutée and many others west, south, and north of Bussa, and felt that it must do something to defend itself. Over Bussa, Nikki, and the rest of Borgu, the Sultan of Sokoto has no real dominion. But his suzerainty, to the extent of demanding and, as far as he can, exacting slave-tribute stretches down to Nupe, of which Bida is the capital, and, across the Niger, to Ilorin,—comprising, in fact, all the people thereabouts who are terrorised by Fulah or Mohammedan usurpers of divers grades. Sir George Goldie hoped to kill more than two birds with one stone, and, as far as military work was concerned, he was fortunate. His pursuit was naïvely explained in a memorandum of his own, dated 10th February, 1897. He could not, he opined, "conquer Nupe and Ilorin"—already in theory the Company's property—without risk, which "Her Majesty's Government would not tolerate," of bringing about "a war with the vast Sokoto-Gando empire as a whole," also in theory already the Company's property. Something, however, he must do; and he did it with the efficient help of Major Arnold, the commander of the Company's forces, increased for the purpose. Without quarrelling with the Sultan of Sokoto, he deposed the reigning Emir of Bida and set up, as he says, "a Fulah puppet as ruler of Northern Nupe," and placed Southern Nupe, the portion on the right of the Niger under the direct rule of the Company. He also, after punishing the Emir of Ilorin, made a new treaty with him.

By these proceedings quiet was for a time restored;

but, giving fresh impetus to French advances without effecting any change in the administration of the rest of the Company's alleged territory, they opened the eyes of the British Government to the dangers to which it and the British nation were exposed through the anomalous position held by the Company and the opportunities afforded to it for involving Great Britain not only in costly wars with the natives but also in perilous disputes with France and with Germany, too. It became apparent to all that there must be speedy and vital change in the powers and privileges assured to the Company.

There are other and no less weighty reasons for such a change. When the Company received its charter in 1886 it pledged itself, and was expected, to spread civilization and to establish pacific rule, not only over the million or so of barbarous natives living in the delta of the Niger and near the river banks up to Lokoja, who had been placed under its care, but also, steadily and not slowly, over the twenty or more millions scattered throughout nearly half a million square miles in the interior. To meet the expenses of this work the Company was allowed to impose heavy import and export duties and high charges for trading licences in order that a substantial revenue might be raised to defray the cost of administration. The amount raised in these ways, limited to £90,000 a year, may not have been enough to ensure, all over the vast area entrusted to the Company, such extensive reform as could only have been initiated by violent revolutions and maintained by an elaborate machinery of government. Beyond making treaties and spending, it is said, about £30,000 a year in subsidizing the numerous great and little chiefs beguiled into agreeing to them, however, the Company appears to have done next to nothing towards performing the obligations assumed by it as regards at least nine-tenths of its supposed territory. By its treaty of 1885 with the Sultan of Sokoto, for example, it acquired a "right" to the whole of his country, whatever that may be, or any part of it that the Company "may

desire," with exclusive trading, mining, and other privileges, and jurisdiction over all foreigners in it, in return for an annual payment of "goods to the value of 3,000 bags of cowries," or between £1,500 and £2,000. The treaty with the Sultan of Gando is in similar terms, except that the payment is "goods to the value of 2,000 bags of cowries," and in like treaties with other and subordinate chiefs the payment varies with their supposed importance, being in some cases as low as the value of 50 bags of cowries, or something like £3 a year. But the Company appears not to have found it convenient or possible to cultivate much trade with interior natives, being satisfied with such as filters down to Lokoja and neighbouring stations. In other respects it has done nothing, or next to nothing, except in the case of its expedition to Bida and Ilorin last year. Even the subsidies paid to the chiefs, regarded by them as tribute, not subsidy, it is said, are generally in the shape of guns and gunpowder to be used in forcing from recalcitrant vassals *their* tribute of slaves. This certainly does not conduce to the material improvement of the condition of the natives or to the gradual suppression of slavery and the slave trade which was bargained for in the Company's charter.

The Company has, of course, been much more active at Lokoja and the stations near to it and south of it, in those portions of the Niger delta which are not included in the Niger Coast Protectorate. There it spends most of the revenue of £90,000 a year allowed for administration, and there it makes all its profits as a trading concern, which, by help of its heavy duties and high licences and despotic arrangements, has practically been converted into an absolute monopoly. This monopoly is a reasonable ground of complaint on the part of the English and other white traders who are not partners in it. How much more harshly it presses on the natives on both sides of the boundaries between the Niger Company's territory and the Niger Coast Protectorate appears from the history of the Brass dis-

turbances of 1895, which Sir John Kirk was sent out to inquire into and report upon. The Brass people are only some of the natives in the protectorate whose occupations have been cruelly interfered with by the Company's exclusion of them from their former markets. Quite unable to pay the £150 a year exacted for a trading licence, and in order to keep themselves alive, they are smugglers perforce. For smuggling they are, or were up to two years ago, freely "sniped" by the Company's officials. Nor are the hardships of the natives within the Company's territories much less. Some of them, those willing to be useful drudges, may fare better under its rule than they did in former days; the others, daring to assert their independence, are roughly dealt with in the dozen or so "little wars" per annum that the Company takes credit to itself for waging. In these and all its other professions and exploits the Company makes a pretence of philanthropy, but no one not anxious to be deceived will be misled thereby. It has come to be a monopolist trading concern, and, save in its opportunities of involving the British nation in dangerous complications, it is nothing more. As a trading concern it usually earns a dividend of 7 per cent. on its paid-up capital of about £400,000, and it will be its own or its agents' fault if it is not able to go on making as good a profit more equitably and honourably after, as may be hoped, it has surrendered both the administrative functions assigned to it by its charter and the trading monopoly which it has been allowed to build up.

The Government having announced its intention of making important changes in the constitution of the Company, the Company is understood to be willing to be bought out by the State for £2,000,000, or even £1,000,000. The smaller amount is far too large. A fifth or a fourth of the sum would more than compensate it for all the legitimate expenses it has incurred, and for all the risks it has honestly run in its abortive efforts to administer the huge territory committed to its care ostensibly in the interests

either of the British empire or of the natives. It has, as regards both, neglected its duties and abused its powers. Instead of warding off French encroachments, it has encouraged and facilitated them. It has brought matters to such a pass that it is now absolutely necessary that, for a fair and dignified adjustment of the difficulties it has helped to raise between France and England, it should be deprived of all opportunity for further mischief-making, and that thus the British Government should be left free to make its own arrangements with France concerning spheres of influence and territorial rights on both sides of the Lower and Middle Niger.

On the 30th March 1892 Lord Salisbury addressed a memorable dispatch to Lord Dufferin, for communication to the French Government, in view of an Anglo-French West African Boundary Commission then about to meet in Paris. "France," he wrote, "from her basis on the Senegal coast, has pursued steadily the aim of establishing herself on the Upper Niger and its affluents. This object she has attained by a large and constant expenditure and by a succession of military expeditions. Great Britain, on the other hand, has adopted the policy of advance by commercial enterprise. She has not attempted to compete with the military operations of her neighbour." There has been considerable change in the temper and tactics of, at any rate, some of our statesmen since those words were written, but to-day's situation is nearly as accurately described in them as that of six years ago. "In 1890," Lord Salisbury went on to say, "the French Government, noting that the progress of the two countries on the Upper and Lower Niger must, if unchecked, lead to conflicting claims, suggested that a point should be agreed on beyond which neither should pass. This was effected by the second article of the declaration of 1890"—already cited—"which also laid down a basis for subsequent negotiations for the demarcation of spheres in the region which extends to the west and south of the Middle and Upper Niger." It is a great pity that



the Commission of 1892, instead of confining its decisions to boundary questions nearer Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, did not anticipate and deal with the "conflicting claims" that have since taken angry shape. Had it done so, much acrimonious discussion and some more or less grave perils might have been avoided. Surely, however, it is not too late for a reasonable compromise to be arrived at.

The lines of what, it is submitted, would be a reasonable compromise, advantageous to both France and England, and affording the best chance of fair treatment of the natives, whose little-heeded claims are really of paramount importance, may be briefly indicated in a few concluding sentences.

It is as true now as it was eight years ago, or eighteen years ago, or eighty years ago, that the inclinations and capacities of French adventurers in Northern Africa, if not elsewhere as well, are rather for territorial aggrandisement than for commercial development, and that English adventurers generally have more liking for, and are better fitted to succeed in, trade than conquest. Doubtless the opinion is growing among Englishmen that profits cannot be ensured without conquests, and among the French that their conquests ought to be made profitable. England's share in the grabbing of territory has been largely due to the policy by which France has attempted to divert into her own channels the trade opened up by England with native producers, and has imposed almost prohibitive tariffs on English trade through the French channels. Experience ought before now to have taught our neighbours that their protectionist policy is of the penny-wise-pound-foolish sort. They might be saved some further hard teaching by experience if England were willing to leave them a comparatively free hand in the West African interior, provided the ports on the coast and the routes thence to the interior were open on equal terms to traders of all nationalities. What matters it to British statesmen

and the British public whether the French or any other flag is hoisted in Bussa or Nikki or elsewhere in the Niger bend and its passages to the remote interior, so long as the institutions it floats over tend to replace barbarism by genuine civilization, of which honest and lucrative commerce is a part, and so long as the new markets thus created and the old markets thus reached and improved are cosmopolitan? France, which already has solid or visionary claims to some three million square miles of Africa north of the equator, might add another million to the grotesque total, and England, which, when Egypt and the Nile valley are added in, claims nearly as much, might submit to a reduction by half and more than half, without grudging and with gain instead of loss, if an end were put to the present war of tariffs, and if there were equalization of fiscal arrangements for all the regions in dispute and for all the coasts from which they are or can be reached.

That is a prosaic suggestion, but these are prosaic days, and it points to a solution, not only of our present difficulty with France, but also of present and prospective difficulties with Germany and all the other European Powers concerned in "the scramble for Africa."

## AUSTRALASIA IN 1898.

(A) AUSTRALIA, (B) TASMANIA, (C) NEW ZEALAND.

By G. R. BADENOCH, LL.D.

THE Colonies of Great Britain may be grouped into (1) the Self-Governing Colonies, (2) the Crown Colonies, and (3) those regions which are at present under the control of Companies or Protectorates. As the Dominion of Canada, in various ways, stands in somewhat the same relative position towards the United States and South America that Great Britain stands towards Europe, so may Australasia hold, some day, the same relation to the countries of "THE EAST." The survey of "the SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES" may fitly begin with AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALASIA embraces (A) Australia, (B) Tasmania, and (C) New Zealand. AUSTRALIA is composed of: I. New South Wales; II. Victoria; III. Queensland; IV. Southern Australia; and V. Western Australia. The population of these vast regions, excluding native races, is about the same as Scotland, approaching nearly to 5,000,000. The condition of life is more favourable in these Southern countries than in any other country in the world. Their progress has been marvellous during the past 30 years, and, judging from the last decade, the population, the trade, both as regards imports and exports, as well as the whole tonnage, will increase during the next decade at a far higher rate of progression. At the present time its outward and inter-colonial tonnage is more than 18,000,000, and the value of its imports and exports amounts to £68,000,000. The countries being eminently pastoral, having, in sheep alone, one-fourth of the sheep of the world, and more cattle and horses in proportion to the population than any other country, are yearly increasing. During the present year Australasian cattle is expected to number 14,000,000, and

its horses 2,000,000. Its value of pastoral property, exclusive of grazing land, is upwards of £240,000,000, and is rapidly increasing, from the constant development of its Dairy industry. The export of butter to the United Kingdom during the present year cannot be less than 40,000,000 lb. In the export of wheat, Australasia already ranks as the sixth among the export countries of the world. The annual yield of mines, chiefly gold, is about £13,500,000, the average during the past forty years amounting to about £11,000,000. Although the population is scarcely one-tenth the population of the United Kingdom, the revenue of the several Governments amounts to one-third of it, or £30,000,000, of which the Railways and Tramways produce one-third, Customs and Excise nearly another third, the remaining third being derived from Public Lands, Posts, Telegraphs, and other sources. The net liability in the form of interest and charges on public debt (after deducting the net revenue on works constructed from loan funds of £4,000,000) amounts to about £5,000,000. Compared with the population, the inhabitants of Australasia are as well served with Railways as the people of Canada, and are better served than those of the United States. There is scarcely an adult born in Australasia who cannot read and write.

(A) AUSTRALIA: I.—*New South Wales.*

New South Wales is the "Mother Colony of Australia." Its natural features may be divided into three divisions. There is a large district of country about 800 miles long, bounded on the one side by the Sea, and on the other by a mountain chain. It possesses fifteen considerable rivers, surrounded by excellent soil for agricultural purposes, and natural forests of luxuriant growth, a genial climate, with alternate rain and sunshine. The second division stretches also along the whole length of the Colony, with high lands ranging from a thousand to seven thousand feet in altitude, with abundant rainfall, and rivers and streams, with a vast

area of first-class soil for cereals, fruit and pastoral purposes. The third division includes the great plains of the West, intersected by great rivers, some of which are navigable for 1,700 miles, and afford excellent pasturage. It is governed by a Legislature of two Houses, one nominated, and the other elective, with an Executive conducted by Ministers responsible to the elective chamber. Sydney, the capital, is situated on the Southern shore of Port Jackson, whose entrance from the Pacific is about a mile in breadth. Nothing can exceed the picturesqueness of the bay, with its numerous islands and inlets. There are besides Sydney, the capital, about 455 towns and villages. Its imports are about £22,000,000, consisting of Tea, foods, irritants, Live Stock, clothing, textiles, metals, coke, specie and gold bullion, Works of Art and miscellaneous manufactures; its exports about £24,000,000, consisting of Wool, Gold, silver, Copper, Tin, Coal, Tallow, meats (frozen and preserved), Butter (frozen), hides, cattle, Horses and Sheep, Grain, Sheepskins and Leather. The total value of goods exported in 1896 to other Colonies in Australasia was £8,374,826, to the United Kingdom £8,375,883, to other British Possessions\* £520,528, while to France and other non-British Countries exports were £5,739,312. The progress of the wool industry is extraordinary, as may be inferred from there being in Australia, a century ago, a mere handful of sheep, in 1894 120,866,718, in this Colony they number 48,000,000. The Sydney wool sales rose from 112,906 bales in 1884, to 425,135 bales in 1894. The percentage for the United Kingdom (the Home trade) was  $25\frac{3}{4}$ ; Continent of Europe 57; America  $5\frac{3}{4}$ ; India, China, and Japan  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ; and Local Manufacturers and Scourers 11. The number of Horses in the Colony, at its foundation, about a century ago was only 7, and now they number 511,000, composed of Draught horses, Light harness, and Saddle horses. The number of sheep at the above period was 29, and now they number 48,000,000. The cattle numbered

6, and now they have increased to 2,226,000, composed mostly of Shorthorns, Herefords, Devons, Black and Red Polls, Ayrshire, Alderney, and Holstein breeds. The gold fields of the Colony were discovered about 17 years ago, and the auriferous area, so far as known, at present covers about 80,000 miles. Notwithstanding the low price of silver, there are several companies paying satisfactory dividends. The principal Company, that of the Proprietary Mine Broken Hill, showed a profit to the Company for the half year ending May, 1896, of £344,760. Copper and Tin mines are also worked at a fair profit. And in order still farther to develop mining operations, the Government have provided "Diamond Drills," which are lent or leased on easy terms, which lessen the cost of boring, and at almost no loss to the Government, as the "Drills" are usually self-supporting. The annual value of the output of coal is about £1,120,000, over a half of which is shipped for inter-colonial ports, the remainder to foreign ports.\*

The Postal and Telegraph Service is widely extended over the whole Colony, and is increasing day by day. It has Public Buildings, equal, if not superior, to the Public Buildings in London, Liverpool, Manchester, or Edinburgh and Glasgow. Its education is almost free, and pervades, as we have already indicated, every town, village, and hamlet, while Churches, Religious Institutions, Educational Seminaries, and Societies for the encouragement of Art and Literature are liberally supported and endowed. Therefore with a magnificent climate, and every encouragement for all kinds of industry, the inhabitants of this Colony have far more advantages than the people of England.

## *II.—Victoria.*

Victoria, originally a portion of New South Wales, is the smallest, the youngest (except Queensland), and yet the most populous, Colony of the mainland. Its revenue, commerce,

\* All the above figures, like those concerning the other Colonies, treated in this paper, are derived from the returns, up to the very latest date, in the offices of their respective Agents-Generals.—*Ed.*

and production are only slightly exceeded by New South Wales. From its natural grazing advantages it attracted the attention of Sheep farmers from the adjoining Colonies and Great Britain, and hence the seaports of Melbourne, Geelong, and Portland were founded. Up to 1851 it was governed from Sydney, when it became an independent Colony, with a separate Legislature and Executive. It forms the South-Eastern portion of the mainland, its length being from East to West about 420 miles, and its breadth varying from 150 to 250 miles, with a coast-line of about 600 miles. The discovery of gold in 1851 attracted a large number of immigrants. The climate is agreeable, and the rainfall sufficient. The trees of its forests range as high as 300 to 400 feet, and among its beautiful shrubs is the notable tree-fern. Its mountains are full of mineral wealth, its valleys possess rich natural grass, and when the forests are cleared, there are large areas well adapted for the growth of wheat and vines. The gold mines of Ballarat, Forest Creek, and Bendigo are well known, and copper, tin, coal, and antimony are found in considerable quantities, yielding an annual export of £1,000,000.

The population, at the present date, is estimated at 1,250,000. The excess of births over deaths, like in the other Australasian Colonies, is exceedingly high, compared with that of the United Kingdom. This excess in Victoria is 16·90 per 1,000, in New South Wales it is 21·47, while the average at home is 11·40. The great majority of the people, say 95 per cent., are of British origin, and at the present time those residing in the Colony, who were born in England and Wales, are 14·29 per cent., in Scotland 4·45 per cent., and in Ireland 7·48 per cent. Education, enforced by the State, is free. There are 4,202 teachers, and the average attendance of Schools is 11·2 per cent. of the population at an annual cost to the State of £620,989. The Free Public Library in Melbourne is equal to any in England.

The tonnage of shipping of Victoria is somewhat less

than that of New South Wales, being upwards of 4,000,000, and to the rest of the sister Colonies it stands 78 to 106 of New South Wales, and 94 to the whole of Australasia, while Western Australia is 366, the highest of the group. The shipping to the Mother Country is about half of that from New South Wales, which stands to the whole as 38·9 per cent., and the percentage of steam to total tonnage is 90·7, while New South Wales is 76·8.

The value of the imports to Victoria is about £5 15s. per inhabitant ; and the exports about £9 per inhabitant. The value of exported wool is £2,225,000 or about 11 per cent. of the whole of Australasia,—other pastoral produce is £1,045,000 or 33 per cent. The amount of the excess of exports in gold is not less than £215,137,000, whereas the whole of Australasia is £320,545,000, during the years of 1851-94, the average annual export being upwards of £4,000,000. The total amount of gold produced by Victoria, since the commencing of mining is upwards of £237,000,000, which is 64 per cent. of the various gold producing colonies. Agricultural industries are growing gradually, and the value of the crops at the present time is estimated at £5,000,000, the proportion being 26 per cent.,—the highest of all the other Colonies. This beautiful Colony is capable of great development by industrious and enterprising emigrants from the United Kingdom.

### *III.—Queensland.*

This Colony is the youngest but the third largest of the Australian Continent. It is twice the size of New South Wales, and eight times that of Victoria,—and five and a half times the size of the United Kingdom. It stretches 1,300 miles from north to south, 900 miles from east to west, and a coast line of 2,250 miles. So large a territory varies in soil and climate,—giving products natural both to the temperate and torrid zones. It has a backbone of mountains ranging parallel to the east coast about 50 miles from the sea, the main dividing line being a continuation of



the Alps of Victoria and the Blue Mountains of New South Wales. It is fairly well watered by numerous rivers and many industrious and thriving ports, the principal harbour of which is Moreton Bay, 17 miles from the Capital, Brisbane, within the five mile radius of which the growth of the population has been so rapid that in 1881 it had only 30,955 inhabitants, but now they number not fewer than 100,000, with many fine public buildings equal to those in the United Kingdom. The population of the whole Colony is estimated at the present day to be upwards of 500,000, whereas forty years ago it possessed not more than 16,907 souls. The birth rate is higher than any of the other Colonies, being at the present time 33 per thousand whereas New South Wales is somewhat less than 31. The death rate, which illustrates the healthiness of the climate, is exceedingly low, reaching only to 11 per 1,000, while in the United Kingdom the average rate is 22 per 1,000. The population is composed of nearly 52 per cent. of Australians, 37 per cent. of English, Scotch and Irish, and the remaining 10 per cent. other Europeans, besides Chinese and Kanakas, but in consequence of certain restrictions the proportion of Chinese is rapidly diminishing. Education is free, secular and compulsory. Grammar Schools, Technical Colleges, Schools of Art and other Educational and Charitable Institutions have also been established and supported by the State.

The comparison of the tonnage of Queensland with other ports of Australasia cannot be fairly estimated, as in some of the Colonies the tonnage of the Indian and other steamships entering ports of call is included in the tonnage of those ports; but a comparison may be made on the trade value of exports and imports. Taking that as the basis, the value of imports and exports per ton of shipping in this Colony is more than twice that of New South Wales and Victoria, more than three times that of South Australia, and from four to six times of Western Australia and Tasmania, and approaching to that of New Zealand. The imports of the last quarter of 1897 amounted to £1,282,000, and the exports, exclusive of gold, to £2,523,000.

The mineral resources of the Colony have yet to be fully explored, but there can be no doubt that gold, lead, copper, tin and coal abound. The output of gold is double that of New South Wales and about one-third less than that of Victoria. Silver also abounds, the largest output having been ten years ago, when it amounted to £80,000, but in consequence of the fall in price, mining has been retarded. Tin is found in many parts of the Colony, the produce value reaching as high as from £300,000 to £600,000. In some parts also there is an unlimited supply of manganese. Iron and coal are also to be found. There are large numbers of indigenous trees, among which are the eucalypti in many varieties. From the peculiar watershed, resort for a continuous water supply has been made to Artesian Boring, by which is produced an unlimited supply of great value for grazing purposes. At first the production of wool was the chief object of farmers, but agricultural operations are yearly increasing. The acreage under cultivation last year amounted to 364,000. The cultivation of wheat has been successful, there being 54,000 acres producing 813,000 bushels, as compared with 36,000 acres in 1896 producing 801,000 bushels. Other products are oats, barley, rye and rice. Arrowroot grows very freely in the south. Grapes, bananas, and most other fruits found in Europe are cultivated with success. The output of butter, by 4,000 producers, cannot be less than 4,000,000 lbs. At the end of the last decade, there were upwards of 460,000 horses, 7,000,000 cattle, 20,000,000 sheep, and 100,000 pigs. Should the demand for horses increase the supply can soon be met, as the climate is well adapted for rearing them. The exports of wool amount annually to above 60,000,000 lbs. Sugar-cane planting is of recent date, and as there are tens of thousands of acres adapted for the purpose, the industry has become one of the most thriving and prosperous in the Colony,—there being during the last twelve months no less than 93,700 sugar-cane planted, 83,500 crushed, yielding 105,000 tons of sugar. The annual export trade is more

than £9,000,000, shared in chiefly by the United Kingdom and the sister Colonies ;—the imports are about one half. The public debt amounts to a little over £30,000,000 (mainly represented by public works) which is being gradually reduced by the surplus Revenue over Expenditure, including the interest on public debt. The revenue during January last was £250,000, showing an increase of £12,000, as compared with January, 1897. The expenditure, during the same month, amounted to £184,000, showing a decrease of £11,000. As there is more than one square mile to every inhabitant, man, woman and child, and the great natural wealth of a large area of the Colony, its excellent climate and surroundings, Queensland will yet become one of the most important Colonies in the British Empire. We can safely say that the Colony is eminently suited for the profitable investment of capital in agricultural pursuits, both from the diversified climate and soil, whereby cereals of all kinds and English and tropical fruits, sugar, pineapple and the like, can be grown according to the locality chosen. The country is rapidly growing, as proved by its *Agricultural Returns*, the extension of railways in every direction, and the great output of gold and other minerals. Labour is not so much wanted as farmers and others possessing some capital, who will settle on the land and help to increase the products for local consumption and export. However a recent traveller in the Colony asserts that "if the capital of a man consists solely of thews and sinews, accustomed to work and willing to work, there is no limit to the possibilities of the future. Many in this position have attained honourable positions as Statesmen and have accumulated great wealth, for in no other part of the globe can industry, honesty and thrift look for richer rewards than in Queensland."

#### *IV.—South Australia.*

This Colony is the second largest in area, and the central portion of the Australian Continent. It lies from North

to South, having Western Australia on the Western side, and on the Eastern Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria. Its length from North to South is 1,850 miles, and its greatest width 650 miles. It has a seaboard on the North and South of about 2,000 miles. Its area in square miles is 903,690. Its population is nearly 400,000, and its Capital, Adelaide, has a population of about 150,000. The birth-rate exceeds that of Victoria, being 29·72. The death-rate is lower, being 11·17, whereas Victoria is 13·26. To the Australasian born population of the Colony, the natives of England and Wales are 15·24 per cent., Scotland 2·77, and Ireland 4·48, making a total, born in the United Kingdom, of 22·49. The system of Elementary Education is similar to that in the other Colonies, secular, compulsory, and free. The proportion of enrolled Scholars to population is 16·6 per cent., at a cost to the Colony, exclusive of premises, of about £120,000, the rate, *per capita*, on average attendance being £3 14s. 4d. The tonnage entered and cleared is about one-half of that of New South Wales. The shipping trade of the whole of the Colonies is nearly all in the hands of the British. No doubt recently magnificent steamers have been put on lines between Australia and Foreign ports, but the proportion of British vessels is 90 per cent., that of France and Germany a little over 3 per cent. each. The tonnage entered and cleared at Port Adelaide is upwards of 2,000,000, and the total trade is one-fourth of that of New South Wales, and one-third of Victoria. The largest customer for wool is the United Kingdom, who purchases seven-tenths of the whole, the remainder for the most part going to Belgium, France, and Germany. Of this trade South Australia contributes about seven per cent. About half a century ago the discovery of copper gave an impetus to the fortunes of the Colony, whose mines, at one time, gave an annual output of 2,000 tons of fine copper. The Burra Burra proved rich, paying to the original owners about £800,000 in dividends, the mines at present working produce annually

about 4,500 tons of fine copper. The proportion produced to the other Colonies is about 77 per cent. The total value of the Agricultural crops of the Colony is about £2,000,000, standing in relation to the other Colonies as 11 per cent., giving an average value per head of inhabitants of £5 8s., the highest of all the other Colonies, and even higher than Tasmania. The annual increase in acreage is also higher than the other Colonies except Queensland, but on the basis of population the acreage under Crop is nine times that of the latter, wheat and hay being the principal crops. The grape crop is considerable, being about one-half of that of Victoria. The number of sheep is about 8,000,000, cattle 700,000, horses 200,000. The annual return from pastoral pursuits is estimated at £2,000,000. The production of butter is 7,000,000 lb., nearly one-fourth of that of New South Wales. The surplus available for exportation is one-fourth. The increase in the value of production, of all kinds, is reckoned to amount to £1,000,000, hence the total value for the present year may be £15,000,000, which is per head of the population more than double that of the United Kingdom. The public debt is about £20,000,000. Considering the immense area of the Colony, and the sparse population, South Australia opens up a large and encouraging field for emigrants from the United Kingdom.

#### *V.—Western Australia.*

The Colony of Western Australia is bounded on the East by a straight line from North to South, 129° parallel of longitude, from the Timor Sea to the Indian Ocean, along the western side of South Australia, intersecting the centre of the Great Australian Bight. The length from North to South is 1,450 miles, the greatest width from East to West 850 miles, and a coast-line of 3,000 miles. The Colony, as self-governing, is not quite eight years old. The population is gradually increasing at the rate of 3,000 a month, and it now amounts to 160,000. The Capital town is Perth, with an estimated population of 40,000.

The birth-rate of the Colony is nearly 22·65 per 1,000 in 1896, while the death-rate is 16·45. It is, however, a new country with a salubrious climate, "second to none in the world." The education in the State Schools is practically free. There are 150 such schools, with a roll of nearly 10,000 scholars, the Government carrying the children free by Railway to and from School, and where there is a settlement of 15 resident and of school age the Government at once plants a school, and provides the means of instruction. Already upwards of £53,000 is paid for elementary education, including an endowment and scholarships for a High School for Boys at Perth, while without doubt in due time a University will be established. At present, however, what is wanted in the infancy of the Colony are men who can construct bridges, build houses, develop mines, and manage farms. The chief export at present is Gold. During the year 1894 the value at £3. 16s. per ounce was £787,098; in 1895 it was £879,748; in 1896 it was £1,068,808; and in 1897 it was not less than £2,564,976. The arrangements for acquiring land, either in fee simple or leasehold, are most liberal. In the best parts of the Colony a free homestead of 160 acres can be obtained under the Homestead Act in force, or a man can acquire a 100 acre farm under certain regulations at 10s. per acre, payable yearly at the rate of 6d. per acre for 20 years. Leases for pastoral and other agricultural purposes may be obtained on equally easy terms. Agricultural Banks have also been established for giving advances at a low rate of interest, affording assistance in the stocking of farms. Railways have also been projected, giving facilities on generous terms to every kind of industry. The climate and the soil are excellently adapted for the production of all kinds of grain, vegetables, and fruit, including the grape. The Government, in its arrangements, is most liberal to industrious and enterprising settlers, and seems to have acted, in regard to loans for the construction of public works, in a very cautious and

judicious manner. It is a land of very great promise, and ought to induce many in the United Kingdom to make the Colony a prosperous and happy home.

The Revenue of the Colony for the financial year ending June 30, 1897, was larger than estimated, amounting to £2,842,751, the expenditure £2,839,453, but as an indication of the year's progress, the revenue from Railways showed an increase, above what was estimated, of £200,325. There are 38 Savings Banks, managed by the Post Office officials, in which the Deposits for the year amounted to £1,068,322. The Agricultural Bank has been in existence only for about a couple of years, but by its advances of £52,425 improvements and stocking of farms have been made to the value of £104,186, and increasing cultivation by 24,000 acres, and improving 485 properties. The value of the imports for the year 1896 was £6,493,557, an increase over the previous year of £2,718,606. The increase of exports for the same period was 24 per cent., the total value being £1,650,226, of which the value of wool exceeded that of the previous year by £83,996. The total import and export trade of the Colony for the year was £8,143,783. The land covered by conditional purchase with deferred payments, at 1st October, 1897, amounted to 862,975 acres. The savings of the Railway and Tramways for 1896 were £339,000, the receipts being £919,169; expenses £580,146. Loans are expended on Harbours, Steps, Jetties, Railways, Tramways, Roads, Bridges, Water Works, Public Buildings and Schools all tending towards the development and prosperity of the people and Colony. The estimated Revenue for the present year is £3,008,000. From a comparison of the output of gold during the past two years with that of Victoria and Queensland, it is estimated that Western Australia will become the "largest gold producer in Australasia." The public debt on June 30, 1897, was £7,105,177, and compared with the position of the other Colonies, in point of population and annual

revenue, Sir John Forrest, the Prime Minister, considers that the Colony stands in a "magnificent position."

(B) TASMANIA.

The island of Tasmania is about the size of Scotland, having an area of about 26,215 square miles, including islands. Its northern boundary is Bass Straits—its other coasts are bounded by the waters of the Southern Ocean. It is about 120 miles from the Australian mainland, possessing many mountains, lakes, and perennial rivers and streams. Its climate is peculiarly temperate and genial; the districts about its lakes, being on an elevated plateau, are especially healthy. Hobart, the capital, has a magnificent harbour. The population at the present time is estimated to be about 166,113, of whom 79 per cent. are natives of the Colony, or of the sister Colonies,—19 per cent. have been born in the United Kingdom, India or other British possessions, the rest in foreign countries. The death rate is exceedingly low, being 14·62 per 1,000, and the excess of births over deaths is 19·39 per 1,000. Education has been held, from the beginning, in the highest estimation, is compulsory, and practically free. Its University is completely organized with an efficient staff, and receives from the State for scholarships and other requirements £4,000 a year. It possesses 39 Public Libraries containing 85,000 works. The chief products of the Colony are gold, silver, tin, wool, wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, hops, fruit, hard woods for pavement and railway sleepers;—in short, like its sister Colonies, it is full of natural riches, which may be permanently developed by willing and industrious hands, energy and capital. The climate being throughout the year more equable than other parts of Australasia, it is considered a sanatorium for those who wish to escape excessive heat;—in some parts the scenery resembles that of Devonshire, and in others the lakes and mountains of Scotland. It is the resort of many retired Indian Civil



and Military officials, with limited incomes, in consequence of its salubrity and economic and other advantages. This gives a tone to the whole of society. It possesses, perhaps, the largest and richest copper and tin mines yet discovered, one of which has already yielded over £2,000,000 in dividends. Hence there is, in the future, a wide field, not only for mining operations, but also for the cultivation of wheat and other cereals, hops and fruit, of all kinds for inter-colonial and home consumption. The Public Debt is £7,782,170. For 1898 the Revenue is estimated to be £852,540, and the Expenditure £790,259. The Revenue, derived from Customs, Taxes, Sales and Rents of Lands, amounts to about £900,000, the Expenditure £750,000. The greater part of the best pastoral land has been sold, but there are still about 12,000,000 acres unalienated adapted for agricultural purposes. Its value varies, according to its relative position. A one-hundred-acre farm may be purchased at £1 per acre, one-third credit premium payable at the outset, the remainder in annual instalments during fourteen years. Hence health, comfort and happiness await the industrious settler in Tasmania. Most valuable and exhaustive papers on this Colony have been contributed by an eminent ex-Indian official when Agent for it in England, to this review. We refer to the present distinguished Premier of Tasmania, the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Braddon, P.C., K.C.M.G.

### (C) NEW ZEALAND.

There is perhaps no other Colony under the British Crown which contains, in proportion to its population, more Anglo-Saxons than New Zealand. It consists chiefly of two islands, the North, and the Middle or South, which with Stewart and smaller islands form a long and narrow territory, about one-eighth less than the United Kingdom. Its geographical position relative to Australia is akin to that of Turkey to England, lying 1,200 miles more to the East, and 600 further South. Its progress during the past

45 years is remarkable. In 1852 its European population, almost all British, was 27,633. The total estimated population on September 31, 1897, excluding the Maoris, was 722,904. The number of Maoris at the census of 1896 was 39,854. The death-rate in the Colony is exceedingly low, being 9·10 per 1,000 in 1896; and the excess of births over deaths is the highest in Australasia, being 208 per cent., while in the other Colonies it varies from 170, as in South Australia, to 111 in Victoria. Of those above 5 years of age about 89 per cent. can read and write. Education is free and compulsory. Elementary, Grammar and Technical Schools, Colleges, and a University at Dunedin (having power to confer degrees) have been established and maintained by the State. Among the many important industries, there are meat-freezing and preserving, tanning and wool scouring, saw and grain mills, butter and cheese factories, clothing, boot and shoe factories, breweries, printing, iron and brass foundries,—the total value of all manufactures being nearly £10,000,000. The total production of wool in 1896 was over 132,000,000 lbs., of which more than 128,000,000 lbs., valued at £4,391,848, were exported. Frozen meat was exported to the value of £1,250,000, gold upwards of £1,000,000, grain £350,000, butter, for the most part shipped to the United Kingdom, £282,000, cheese £130,000,—phormium (New Zealand hemp) £33,000, and kauri-gum £431,000. The total value of exports for 1896 was upwards of £9,320,000, and the imports £7,137,320. The Exports for 1897 rose to £10,018,253, and the Imports to £8,047,881. The total trade of Australasia with the United Kingdom, including imports and exports, is upwards of £52,600,000, of which New Zealand's share is upwards of £12,250,000. With their population of 4,000,000, the relative importance of these Colonies as a market for the productions of the United Kingdom is greater than that of South Africa, or France, and stands in the fourth place, with the United States,

India and Germany. It is more than two-thirds of that of India with its 300,000,000 inhabitants. The net indebtedness of New Zealand at the end of March of last year was £43,552,323. Of this amount £30,000,000 has been spent chiefly on railways, gold fields, coal mines, roads and bridges, telegraphs, land purchases, lighthouses, harbours, public buildings and schools. The land system of the Colony is based mainly on the principle of State-ownership of the soil, with perpetual tenancy in the occupation, the price being low with the view not of deriving a revenue, but of inducing settlers, and in order that the soil may become the "land of the people" a restriction of area is placed on what any man may hold. New Zealand is pre-eminently pastoral, but capable of great agricultural developments, with rich mineral deposits of gold, coal, tin, copper, and other minerals. The value of the output of gold up to the end of 1897 was £53,372,633. New Zealand therefore is a most eligible country for men of limited capital, wishing to be possessed of small holdings, where they can be most comfortable, healthy, and prosperous, and is specially adapted for those retiring from official duties, whether at home or in India.\*

#### FEDERATION OF THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

The question of federation, or the union of the Colonies for certain general purposes, was mooted forty-eight years ago, and ever since the question has engaged the attention of Statesmen both there and at home. From 1880 up to the present date conventions or conferences have been held both in the South and in London. It is hoped that during the present year a Constitution may be adopted, so that, under the Crown, there may be eventually established what I suggest should be called "THE DOMINION OF AUSTRAL-ASIA." Difficulties in arriving at this most important result have mainly arisen from the desire of some Colonial

\* Official returns for the past 11 months show that there will be a substantial surplus at the end of this financial year.—*Ed.*

Statesmen to frame the Constitution after the model of that of the United States of America, forgetting that the British Government is not that of a Republic,—others considering that the Constitution of Norway or of Switzerland should be followed, forgetting the experience of the Statesmen of Canada, or still earlier the principles which led to the union of Scotland with England, and the union of Ireland with Great Britain. While England similarly safeguards all the rights and interests of each Colony, it is surely possible that a bond of union can be framed for the benefit and development of each and all. The union with England has been beneficial to Scotland and Ireland, and so has the Constitution of Canada not only to its Provinces, but also to the United Kingdom and to India, from the construction of railways, telegraphs, lines of steamships and other gigantic undertakings which could not have been accomplished but by the action of one great and united Colony, loyally devoted to the Throne. Let Australasia act, therefore, on the principle that the Crown of England is the fountain of honour, and its aim the defence, safety, and prosperity of all the Colonies, in union with the Empire, peace and goodwill to all nations being "THE DOMINION'S" motto with the implied force, in addition, of "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*"

# THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, M.A. ; D.D.

(Balliol College, Oxford.)

## V. TIRUVAḤḤUVAR, THE GNOMIC POET.

### § 1. THE PARIAH WEAVER OF MAILAPŪR.

THE greatest Tamil poetry is the work (his only one !) of *Tiruvalluvar*,\* who was, according to universal tradition, a Pariah weaver, of Mailapūr, or St. Thomé, a suburb of Madras, which city in his days was not in existence. His date is absolutely uncertain, though we may safely limit it to between A.D. 800 and 1000. His very name is unknown, the title *Tiruvalluvar* meaning simply Pariah priest, or soothsayer.† Mailapūr, then a seaport of some importance, was the very place which the tradition of ancient Christendom regards as the scene of the apostle St. Thomas's martyrdom. And it is a noteworthy circumstance, that from precisely the spot so hallowed in the annals of Christianity, should have proceeded, some centuries later, the Oriental book which, more than any other in the wide range of Eastern literature, seems to reflect the moral teaching of the GREAT MASTER whom all the world reveres.

In this sketch of the great sage is brought together the sum of all I have published in various places, desiring to give as full a life of the bard as can be extracted from endless legends.

Of Homer we know scarcely anything, and of Shakespeare not much ; of Tiruvalluvar no vestige but his 1,330 immortal couplets remains.

In the history of *Kabilar* we have given the myth that makes Tiruvalluvar and Kabilar brothers with Avvai for a sister. The legends are self-contradictory and absurd. *Pagavan* and *Āthi* are given as the names of the father and mother. Now *Pagavan* means "God," and *Āthi* is "beginning." They occur in the compound, in the first couplet of the *Kurraḷ*, which is translated "the primal Deity"; and this may have been the germ of the myth. The infant Tiruvalluvar, like Kabilar, sung a quatrain when abandoned in the grove of "Iluppai" trees (*Bassia longifolia*) at Mayilāpūr ; but it is hardly worth translating.

The design of the legend is to show that these great poets were really of Brāhman origin and zealous adherents of the Čaiva sect,—which cannot have been the case.

\* The "Sacred Kurraḷ" of *Tiruvalluva-Nāyanār*. With Metrical Translation, Notes, Grammar, Lexicon, and Concordance. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D., Fellow of the Madras University, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the German Oriental Society. London : Sampson Low and Co.

† He is called, more especially by Čaivites, *Tiruvalluva-Nāyanār*. In the introduction to his prose version of the *Periya Purāṇam*, that eminent scholar Arrumuga-Nāvalar explains the use of the term Nāyanar. It means "Lord," but in Čaivite = "Saint."

The tradition of his life-long friendship with Ēlēla-Çingan,\* who was captain and owner of a small trading ship, seems credible. Everything seems to show the sage to have been a many-sided man, looking out over the "many sounding sea" with a keen interest in humanity.

M. Ariel (in a letter to Burnouf, published in the "Journal Asiatique," 1848) speaks of his work as the "masterpiece of Tamil literature—one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought." Again he says: "That which is above all wonderful in the *Kurral* is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples, or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind; the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason; that he proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractedness, virtue and truth; that he presents, as it were, in one group the highest laws of social and domestic life; that he is equally perfect in thought, in language, and in poetry, in the austere metaphysical contemplation of the great mysteries of the Divine Nature as in the easy and graceful analysis of the tenderest emotions of the heart."

Owing to the labours of Dr. Graul, the *Kurral* has been edited also in Germany with German and Latin versions.

M. Ariel published in French a translation of a portion of Tiruvalluvar. Mr. Whyte Ellis, M.C.S., translated about twenty-three chapters; Mr. Drew, a Missionary, published twenty-four chapters; but until recently no complete translation had been published in English, nor had any edition with critical apparatus been issued under English auspices. And this is remarkable, considering England's close connection with the land of the Tamils.

## § 2. THE KURRAL.

Tiruvalluvar was an eclectic in religion and philosophy. Twelve standard commentaries exist, written by distinguished authors of as many sects, who all claim him; and this shows how entirely comprehensive his teaching is. His work is absolutely received through all South India as of supreme authority. It must be remembered that before his time Christianity had long been taught in South India, and that Armenian monasteries existed within a short distance of his house, while on the Western coast the Nestorians had very large and flourishing missions, the native king of Travancore having been at one time a Christian. It appears therefore almost certain that he had some acquaintance with Christianity. Careful study of the *Kurral* must convince anyone of this, though it is not easy to convey to others a conviction that is grounded so much upon internal evidence.

The poet was also intimately acquainted with the best Sanskrit literature, with the Buddhist system in its original character, with the writings of the Jains (to whom he has often been said especially to belong), and it may be, with some of the earlier Mohammedan treatises. But his ethics are in the main Christian, and it is not too much to say that scarcely any precept in the New Testament is without a more or less adequate representation

\* "Ēlēla" is an interjection, the cry of the Tamil boatmen, when they see the crested surf-wave coming on. Çingan = "lion-hearted." His may only have been a surf-boat, such as some of us remember well.

in the *Kurral*. Some of the couplets will seem, when carefully studied in the original, to be very like transcripts from the Sacred Scriptures, and have in Tamil a certain foreign character, discernible perhaps only by experts.\*

### § 3. THE MADURA COLLEGIUM.

Tradition says that in Tiruvalluvar's days there was a great Academy in the Southern city, Madura, of which all learned Tamil scholars were members, and of which the god Çiva himself condescended to be the President.† This learned corporation possessed a miraculous bench, that floated on the waters of the great *tank* or lake belonging to the famous Madura temple, and had the faculty of expanding to make room for any

\* The following couplets taken from a multitude will suggest a more or less close parallelism with the teaching of the Christian Scriptures.

- "When lust and wrath and error's triple tyranny is o'er,  
Their very names for aye extinct, then pain shall be no more." (360.)
- "Cruel is the arrow straight, the crooked lute is sweet,  
Judge by their deeds the many forms of men you meet." (279.)
- "Ambrosia in the sewer spilt, is word  
Spoken in presence of the alien herd." (720.)
- "What's gained through tears with tears shall go;  
From loss good deeds entail harvests of blessings grow." (659.)
- "To punish wrong, with kindly benefits the doers ply;  
Thus, shame their souls; but pass the ill unheeded by." (314.)
- "From wisdom's vaunted lore what doth the learner gain,  
If as his own he guard not others' soul from pain?" (315.)
- "What his own soul has felt as bitter pain,  
From making others feel should man abstain." (316.)
- "Tis never good to let the thought of good things done thee pass away;  
Of things not good, 'tis good to rid thy memory that very day." (108.)
- "In flesh by fire inflamed, nature may thoroughly heal the sore;  
In soul by tongue inflamed, the ulcer healeth never more." (129.)
- "As earth bears up the men who delve into her breast,  
With scornful men to bear of virtues is the best." (151.)
- "Forgiving trespasses is good always;  
Forgetting them hath even higher praise." (152.)
- "Though others work thee ill, thus shalt thou blessing reap;  
Grieve for their sin, thyself from vicious action keep." (157.)
- "If each his own, as neighbours' faults would scan,  
Could any evil hap to living man?" (190.)
- "Loss that is gain, and death of life's true bliss fulfilled,  
Are fruits which only wisdom rare can yield." (235.)
- "Though men should work thee woe, like touch of tongues of fire,  
'Tis well if thou can'st save thy soul from burning ire." (368.)

† Of this the accomplished P. Sundram Pillai says: "It is open to doubt whether there ever existed a regularly constituted body of Pandits and Poets, which may be called a college in our modern sense of the word; but that a number of brilliant men of genius rose and flourished soon after the memorable victory of *Talai-Ālangūnam*, and at intervals from one another so short that in the perspective view of posterity they appear to have formed but one grand galaxy,—one single group or college,—it would be the height of scepticism to question."

worthy candidate, and thus the Academy was kept select. When the Pariah bard presented himself with his 1330 couplets, his want of caste was alleged as a reason for his exclusion. Meekly acquiescing, he craved permission but to lay his book at the end of the bench. His request was granted; but no sooner had the book rested there, than the whole of the members of the Academy found themselves floating in the tank, the weight of the poem having upset the bench: which, in fact, there and then finally disappeared. The advent of the new poet was fatal to the Madura Sanskrit-Tamil school! The Kurral marked the period when the songs and panegyrics of the Southern school had to give place to a higher and more widely human strain.

#### § 4. TAMIL POETRY.

Nothing, not even a corrupt Greek chorus, so defies the efforts of the student as does very much of the high Tamil poetry, especially that of the Pāndiyan school. The poetical dialect of Tamil allows every kind and any amount of ellipsis; so that a line is often little else than a string of crude forms artfully fitted together. The best compositions are the Venpā *quatrains* and *couplets*, each containing a complete idea—a moral epigram. Their construction resembles that of a design in mosaic, and the materials so fitted together are sometimes it may be mere bits of coloured glass, but sometimes also very precious stones and pure gold.\*

Especially of Tiruvalluvar it may be said, as Archbishop Trench says of St. Augustine (*St. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture*, p. 154): "He abounds in short and memorable epigrammatic sayings, concentrating with a forceful brevity the whole truth which he desires to impart into some single phrase, forging it into a polished shaft, at once pointed to pierce, and barbed that it shall not lightly drop from the mind and memory."

The *Kurral* in three books treats of Virtue, domestic and ascetic, of Wealth or the State, and of Love. It is divided into 133 chapters, each consisting of ten couplets.

#### § 5. HIS SYSTEM FOUNDED ON LOVE.

Among many things most remarkable in this poet is, that, being the greatest ethical teacher India has ever had, he makes love, (the *ἀγάπη* of the Christian Scriptures,) the foundation of morals. Love is the fulfilling of the law.

The following ten couplets are in Chapter viii., on "The Possession of Love."

\* It is not improbable that Tiruvalluvar was the inventor of the *Venpā* Couplet. [See Pope's "*Kurral*," Int. xxv.-xxviii., and II. Grammar, § 185-188.] The earliest Tamil metre was the flowing and free *Agaval* in which the wandering minstrels of the Puraṇānūru sang the praises of their patrons and asked for gifts, to the accompaniment of the now forgotten VĀR, or lute. The artificial *Venpā* quatrain with its rhymes and strict laws of sequence followed, and finally, the *Kurral*, the condensed, polished "arrow of song," was perfected by the Pariah Weaver. The *Agaval* is to the *Venpā* as the original Ballata and Canzone of old Italian were to the highly-artificial Sonnet, which was their highest product.



"And is there bar that can even love restrain?  
The tiny tear shall make the loving secret plain."

"The loveless to themselves belong alone;  
The loving men are others' to the very bone."\*

"Of precious soul with body's flesh and bone,  
The union yields one fruit, the life of love alone."

"From love fond yearning springs for union of sweet minds;  
And that the bond of rare excelling friendship binds."

"Sweetness on earth and rarest bliss above,  
These are the fruits of tranquil life of love."

"The unwise deem that virtue only love sustains,  
It also helps the man who evil deeds restrains."  
(For love alone can overcome evil !)

As sun's fierce ray dries up the boneless things,  
So *loveless beings* virtue's power to nothing brings.

(The idea is that the sun shrivels up insect life, which the rains restore.)

The loveless soul the very joys of life may know,  
When flowers, in barren soil, on sapless trees shall blow !  
Though outward part complete, the body's fitly framed;  
What good, when soul, of love devoid, lies *halt* and *maimed*?  
Bodies of loveless men are bony framework clad with skin;  
Then is the body seat of life, when love resides within.

The following are a few couplets taken at random :

#### PURITY OF HEART.

Spotless be thou in mind ! This only merits virtue's name ;  
All else, mere pomp of idle sound, no real wealth can claim.

#### THE HOUSEHOLD.

If love and virtue in the household reign,  
This is of life the perfect grace and gain.

#### THE WIFE.

There is no lack within the house where wife in worth excels ;  
There is no luck within the house where wife dishonour'd dwells.

#### CHILDREN.

"The pipe is sweet," "the lute is sweet," by them 'twill be averr'd,  
Who music of their infants' lisping lips have never heard.

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\* This may appear prosaic and undignified ; but the writer was present, forty years ago, at the cremation of the Mahārāja Sivajī, the last Mahratta ruler of Tanjore, and descendant of the great Sivajī, founder of the Mahratta dominion. There, on a wide plain, where were assembled more than ten thousand subjects of the late king, a vast funeral pyre of sandalwood had been erected and saturated with butter-oil, or *ghi*. On this his body was laid, wrapped in a saffron-coloured cloth, amid a silence most profound, broken only now and again by the muttered Sanskrit *mantras*. Then the nearest of kin to the dead king was borne three times round the pile, and soon was heard the crash of a vessel of water thrown down, and the sound of the running water—symbol of man's life, which "is as water spilt upon the ground that cannot be gathered up again." At this signal the torch was applied, and a pyramid of fire shot up into the midnight sky, while the moan of the thousands around was heard, like the sullen roar of the sea on some surf-beaten shore. In a very short time all was consumed but a thin heap of ashes, in the centre of which was a line of dazzling white,—the calcined bones. An old woman standing by exclaimed, pointing to this : "Alas ! alas ! so great a king has gone so !" The last you see of a man in India is often this.

JUSTICE.

The gain and loss of life are not mere accident ;  
Just mind inflexible is sages' ornament.

HUMILITY.

Humility in all is goodly grace ; but chief in them  
With fortune blest. 'Tis fortune's diadem !

THE TONGUE.

In flesh by fire inflamed, Nature may thoroughly heal the sore :  
In soul by tongue inflamed, the ulcer healeth never more.

§ 6. GRATITUDE.

The following are quoted because it is thoughtlessly said sometimes that Orientals have no word for gratitude, and are in fact ungrateful, which is not true ! They are from Chapter XI.—“The Knowledge of Benefits conferred : *Gratitude*.”

Assistance given by those who ne'er received our aid,  
Is debt by gift of heaven and earth but poorly paid.  
A timely benefit,—though thing of little worth  
The gift itself,—in excellence transcends the earth.  
Kindness of men of stainless soul remember evermore !  
Forsake thou never friends who were thy stay in sorrow sore !

Through all seven worlds, in sevenfold birth,  
Remains in mem'ry of the wise,  
Friendship of those who wiped on earth  
The tears of sorrow from their eyes.

'Tis never good to let the thought of good things done thee pass away :  
Of things not good, 'tis good to rid thy memory that very day.  
Effaced straightway is deadliest injury,  
By thought of one kind act in days gone by.

§ 7. FATE AND FREEDOM.

The Tamil moralist's treatment of the doctrines of human freedom and fate is very remarkable. He teaches the omnipotence of Fate, considered partly as an everlasting imputation of “Deeds,” and partly of the will of Çiva the Supreme ; but yet addresses men as absolutely free to follow, or to disregard, the higher impulse of virtuous instinct. He recognises and insists upon each individual's absolute responsibility for his choice of the higher or lower path in his earthly pilgrimages. (Comp. Pope's *Nāḇaḍiyār*, pp. 66-74.)

In the following, and in many other couplets, our bard teaches that “man is man, and master of his fate.”

“Call them of perfect virtue's sea the shore,  
Who, though the Fates should fail, fail never more.” (989.)

“'Tis no reproach though unpropitious Fate should ban ;  
But not to do man's work is foul disgrace to man !” (618.)

“Though Fate divine should make your labour vain ;  
Effort its labour's sure reward will gain.” (619.)

“Who strive with undismayed, unfaltering mind,  
At length shall leave opposing Fate behind.” (620.)

The idea that “the mind's the standard of the man,” is a favourite one in Tamil.

But *Tiruvalluvar's* (595)

"With rising flood the rising lotus' stem unwinds ;  
The height of men is measured by their minds ;"

is (may one say ?) unequalled. It is VERY curious to read in Landor's "Gebir":

"The sea-bird rises as the billows rise ;  
Not otherwise *when mountain floods descend*  
*Smiles the unsullied lotus glossy-haired.*"

#### § 8. "FAITH."

There is another word in constant use by Tiruvalluvar, and other more recent South Indian authors, which literally means "vision," and is used to express that instinctive apprehension, or spiritual perception of the right and true, that belongs only to devout souls. It takes the place of "faith," for which there is in pure Tamil no exact equivalent. It is to this faculty that the revelation of duty is assigned ; and the following verse exhibits the ethical sanctions of right conduct in a remarkable way—

"Ev'n when resources fail, they weary not of kindness due,  
They to whom duty's self appears in VISION true." (218.)

This spiritual faculty may be injured by the dominance of the senses, and is only fully exercised by those who have attained to self-mastery—

"Men who have conquered sense, with sight from sordid VISION freed,  
Desire not other good, e'en in the hour of sorest need." (174.)

Again—

"The men of VISION pure, from wildering folly free,  
Not e'en in thoughtless hour speak words of vanity." (199.)

In another place he talks of "pure and passionless vision." And again he says—

"Darkness departs, and rapture springs to men who see  
The mystic VISION pure, from all delusion free." (352.)

And again—

"Though troubles press, no shameful deeds they do  
Whose eyes the ever-during VISION view." (654.)

Hence to our poet duty is nothing arbitrary, but the revelation to purged eyes of that which is within the veil. (Comp. too Ch. cii.)

#### § 9. SUMMARY OF THE KURRAL.

It is not, however, by such quotations merely that the real value and significance of the *Kurral* is to be judged. The whole scope and connection of chapters v.-xxiv. should be studied to show the beauty of the life of the Tamil householder as the South Indian *vates sacer* contemplates it. The ideal householder leads on earth a consecrated life (50), not unmindful of any duty to the living, or to the departed (42). His wife, the glory of his house, is modest and frugal ; adores her husband ; guards herself, and is the guardian of the house's fame (ch. vi.) His children are his choicest treasures ; their babbling voices are his music ; he feasts with the gods when he eats the rice their tiny fingers have played with ; and his only aim is to make them worthier than himself (vii.). Affection is

the very life of his soul : of all his virtues the first and greatest. The sum and source of them all is love (viii.). His house is open to every guest, whom he welcomes with smiling face and pleasant word, and with whom he shares his meal (ix.). Courteous in speech (x.), grateful for every kindness (xi.), just in all his dealings (xii.), master of himself in perfect self-control (xiii.), strict in the performance of every assigned duty (xiv.), pure (xv.), patient and forbearing (xvi.), with a heart free from envy (xvii.), moderate in desires (xviii.), speaking no evil of others (xix.), refraining from unprofitable words (xx.), dreading the touch of evil (xxi.), diligent in the discharge of all the duties of his position (xxii.), and liberal in his benefactions (xxiii.), he is one whom all unite to praise (xxiv.).

It is not irreverent to put side by side with this the words which I feel sure he had heard, or at least the summary of them (Phil. iv. 6-8) :

“Whatsoever things are pure,  
Whatsoever things are honourable,  
Whatsoever things are just,  
Whatsoever things are of good report,  
If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things.”

#### § 10. THE POET'S HOME.

Tradition (reflecting, doubtless, in many things, the spirit of a much later age) says that the life of the poet in *Mailāpūr*, with his wife *Vāṇṇi*, was in perfect accordance with these chapters. She was the embodiment of all the *Kurral* requires in the “help to household life” (ch. vi. 51-60).

Her father, *Mārka-sagāyan*, struck with the poet's virtues, offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiruvalluvar was inclined to marry, because domestic virtue is the highest, yet resolved first to try the maiden's temper and gifts; and accordingly replied: “If she will take this sand, and make it into rice for me, I will take her as my wife.” *Vāṇṇi* meekly took the basket of sand, and, feeling sure that what the holy man ordained was possible and right, proceeded to boil it; and, as (in v. 55) the virtuous woman is said to have power with the gods, so it came to pass with her: a miracle was wrought on her behalf, and she was able to bring him the rice for which he asked. So she became his wife, faithful and obedient.

In one of the after days, when the poet's fame had spread through all the Tamil country, a noble stranger came to the weaver's cottage, and asked the question (so much discussed in those times), “Which is the greater, domestic life, or a life of asceticism?” The sage, while courteously entertaining the stranger, gave no reply in words to the question. The inquirer was left, as the poet's guest, to see domestic life in its perfect grace, and judge for himself. What he saw was this: One day when *Vāṇṇi* was drawing water from the well, the sage suddenly called her, and the obedient wife instantly came, *leaving the bucket hanging midway in the well.*

Another day, when the good housewife brought her husband his morning meal of cold rice, he complained that it *burnt his mouth!* when she, unquestioning, and unhesitating in her attention to his comfort, instantly began to fan it. Another day, at noon, when the glaring light was everywhere, the sage, who was at work at his loom, let fall his shuttle, and

*called for a light to seek it!* The wife, with unquestioning obedience, lit a lamp and brought it him!

The inquirer had learnt his lesson: "Where such a wife is found, domestic life is the best. Where such a wife is not, the life of the ascetic is to be preferred."

So the poet and his *Vāṇugi*, this Griselda of the olden Tamil days, lived till the time that she must leave him, and gain "release." The dying wife looked wistfully at her husband. "What is it?" said he. "When you married me, and on that day I stood and spread the rice for you (literally, *for you, my god*), you gave me a commandment to place always, with your meals, a cup of water and a needle. I know not why it was." "It was," he replied, "that if a grain of rice were spilt, I might pick it up, preventing waste, and purify it." Satisfied, the meek *Vāṇugi* closed her eyes for ever.

She had during her whole married life unhesitatingly obeyed his command, nor ever questioned her lord's command! And also, it is clear, no grain of rice had ever been spilt!

As he lay that night, after her death and cremation, pondering, he was heard to exclaim (there are many various readings of the verse):

"Sweet as my daily food! O full of love! O wife,  
Obedient ever to my word! Chafing my feet,  
The last to sleep, the first to rise, O gentle one!  
By night, henceforth, what slumber to mine eyes?"

Whatever may be thought of these simple and thoroughly characteristic traditions as to his own home, it is the singular glory of the poet to have drawn the picture which the *Kurral* presents of the perfect householder; and it speaks loudly in favour of the Tamil race that these couplets are enshrined in the heart of hearts of the whole people. Dynastic changes, Muhammadan raids and irruptions of races, and foreign domination through a dozen centuries, have changed many things (on the whole for the better) in the South:

"Old times are changed, old manners gone,  
And strangers fill the *Pāṇḍyan's* throne."

But the Tamil race preserves many of its old virtues, and has the promise of a noble future. Their English friends, in teaching them all that the West has to impart, will find little to unteach in the moral lessons of the *Kurral* rightly understood.

## THE HOLY WRITINGS OF THE SIKHS.\*

BY M. MACAULIFFE, B.C.S. (Ret.).

I PRESUME the Sikh religion is of all others the least known to the learned world. It is not contained in works written in scientific languages with fixed etymological structure. It is rather contained in short hymns composed for popular instruction by Indian Bhagats or Saints, and by the Apostles of the Sikhs. Those hymns are found in a variety of Indian dialects prevailing from Pandharpur in the Deccan—where Nan Deo and Trilochan flourished—to the extreme north of India. Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Turki, Marathi and Gujarati are represented in those compositions. There is as yet no dictionary and no grammar to assist in their perusal. To compile a grammar would, in the opinion of Sikh scholars, be totally impossible, for every etymological rule has been set at defiance by their sacred poets. A dictionary, too, though not totally impossible would be a work of singular difficulty, for there are several words which are still only translated conjecturally.

The principal sacred books of the Sikhs are two large volumes, the Ad Granth—generally called the Granth Sahib—and the Granth of Guru Gobind Singh. The Ad Granth contains the compositions of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion; of his successors Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, and Arjan; Nymus of the Hindu Bhágats or Saints Jaidev, Nan Deo, Trilochan, Sain, Raidas, Pipa, Surdas, Dhamia Jat; verses of a Musalman saint called Farid; and panegyrics of the Gurus by the bards who either attended them or admired their character. The compositions of Segh Bahadur the ninth Guru were subsequently inserted in the Granth Sahib in the space left vacant for them by Guru Arjan. And one recension of the sacred volume further contains a hymn composed by Mira Bai, Queen of Chitaur.

The Bhagats mentioned were precursors of Guru Nanak, and their hymns were inserted in the Granth partly as enunciating the doctrines of the Gurus and partly as loci probantes or authorities for the new Evangel.

The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh while containing hymns of the Guru's own composition is largely formed of translations from the Sanskrit made by him or under his immediate supervision, and of tales illustrating the deceit of women.

The Sikh religion appears to have had a Budhistic basis in so far as it has retained the doctrines of Nirvana, karma, transmigration, and several most exalted moral precepts; but practically it may be considered as a reformation of Hinduism.

There is probably no one reading this paper who is not acquainted with the leading principles of Hinduism. In the Vedic age it was perhaps at its best, but however pure a religion may, in the opinion of its votaries, have

\* This paper, which was written for this Review, was partially read at the Paris Oriental Congress of September last.—*Ed.*

descended from Heaven, it is unfortunate that it is always subject in the course of time to alteration and disintegration.

During the epoch which is known in Europe as the Middle Ages, a wave of superstition extended through the greater part of the world. The condition of the age in India is thus described by Mahapati a biographer of mediæval Hindu saints: "Sacrifices, alms, and religious duties had ceased. Brahmins, then styled the lords of the earth, relinquished their religious functions and never retired into forests at any period of their lives. Kshatriyas forgot their own special duties and became unscrupulous. Sons did not heed the advice of their parents, and disciples ceased to serve their spiritual guides. Husbands listened to the words of their wives, and dwelt with their wives' fathers. No one wished to undertake the fatigue of a pilgrimage. Men ceased to sing the praises of God and turned instead to the enjoyment of shows and spectacles. The possessors of wealth no longer took pleasure in giving alms to the needy, and the young and healthy renounced religious austerities. Kings ceased to love their subjects, and all justice and morality were laid aside. Ladies of rank became slaves and sold their daughters. The reign of falsehood had set in; what was base was represented as genuine. Cruel people misled and ruined the innocent. God was represented by stones which were broken by strangers. The Gayatri or formula of initiation of the Hindu Saints was never uttered. There was substituted for it the charm of the magician. And the secular authorities of the time to crown their iniquities levied taxes on the ancient places of pilgrimage.

Indeed there is a wonderful analogy between the spiritual condition of Europe and Asia during the period to which I refer. In Europe most religious works were written in Latin; in India they were in Sanskrit. In Europe it is admitted that, though the state of society may not have been such as is described by the Marathi Chronicler it was far from satisfactory looking at it from our present standpoint. In Europe and Asia all learning was in the hands of the priesthood, and this admittedly led to serious abuses in both continents. But when things are at their worst they often mend. During the very period that Wickliffe and Luther and Calvin in Europe were warning men of the errors that had crept into Christianity, men like Kabir and Guru Nanak were denouncing priestcraft and idolatry in India, and with very considerable success. Most of the mediæval saints who led the crusade against superstition founded sects which still survive, but the most numerous and powerful of all is the great Sikh sect founded by Baba Nanak, which already forms a large portion of the population of the Panjab and which is scattered in greater or less numbers throughout the whole of India.

Jaidev, the author of the *Gitagovind*, is not generally known as a religious reformer. In the sacred books of the Sikhs are found two hymns of his in the Prakrit language of his time in which he represents God as distinct from nature, yet everywhere present. He taught that the practice of Jog, sacrifice and austerities were as nothing in comparison with the repetition of God's name, and he inculcated the worship of God alone in thought, word, and deed. What was worthy of worship, he said, he had worshipped, and

what was worthy of trust he had trusted, and he had become blended with God, as water blends with water. Jaidev was followed by numerous Hindu saints whose intellectual vision was sufficiently acute to perceive that the superstitions of the Hindu only led to spiritual unhappiness.

Of these saints Ramanand was one of the most distinguished. He is believed to have flourished in the 11th century of the Christian era. Unfortunately but little is known of his life. His followers make it a special object to keep all details regarding him a profound secret. So much however, is known, that he was born at Mailkot in the south of India, and that he, after a long study of Hindu theology in his own country, visited Benares, then as now the great stronghold of the Hindu religion.

It would appear that about that time Hindu and Mahammadan theologians engaged in public controversies at that great holy city. The Musalmans insisted on the Divine unity, and ridiculed idol worship and incarnations, and there can be little doubt that the preaching of the Mahammadans gave the Hindu minds a decided direction towards monotheism, and this was strikingly exemplified in the case of Ramanand and his followers.

While at Benares Ramanand laid aside several social and caste observances of the Hindus, called his disciples the liberated, and freed them from all restrictions in eating and bathing. The following hymn of Ramanand is preserved in the Granth Sahib. He had been invited by a Brahmin to attend Hindu religious worship; and the following was his reply:

“Whither shall I go? I am happy at home.  
My heart will not go with me; it has become a cripple.\*  
One day my heart desired to go;  
I ground sandal, took attar of roses and many perfumes,  
And was proceeding to worship in the temple of Brahmā  
But my spiritual guide showed me God in my heart.  
Wherever I go I find only water or stones;  
But Thou, O God, art equally contained in everything.  
The Vedas and the Puranas I have all seen and searched.  
Go thou thither if God be not here.  
O true guru, I am a sacrifice unto Thee,  
Who hast cut away all my perplexities and doubts.  
Ramanand's Lord is the all-pervading God,  
The guru's word has cut away millions of acts.”†

The greatest of all Ramanand's followers was Kabir. He is said to have been born of a virgin widow as the result of prayer offered for her by Ramanand in ignorance of her status. The most recent research into the life of Kabir represents that he was born in May, A.D. 1398. After his birth he was exposed on the margin of a lake near Benares, where he was found by a Musalman weaver. The name Kabir, in the Arabic language, means great, as you all know; and great was Kabir in every sense of the word. According to a tradition in his own country a favourite expression of Kabir was, “If God is a stone then I will worship a mountain.” I give the following specimens of his composition.

\* Compare the use of the word *Mancus* by Horace.

† Karma—acts which attach to the soul, and hinder its progress to Nirvana.



Kabir thus reprobated hypocrisy :

“Why dost thou display to men thy wooden rosary?  
If thou remember not God in thy heart, what availeth thy rosary?†  
Why does the Mahammadan priest ascend the minaret? the Lord is not deaf.  
Search within thy heart for Him for whose sake thou callest to prayer.”‡

In the compositions of the saints Ram is one of the names of God. Men should, Kabir points out, pray to God not to Ram Chandar his Hindu incarnation :

There are different ways of uttering Ram,‡ but there is only one proper way.  
He whom everybody calls Ram was *only* a mountebank.  
Call him Ram who is all-pervading, discrimination *must be exercised* in repeating His name.

The one God is contained in many things, Ram Chandra is only contained in himself.§

The following is a satire on the ritualistic practices of the Hindus :

If union with God be obtained by going about naked,  
All the deer of the forest shall be saved.  
It matters not whether one goeth naked or wearth skin,  
If he recognise not God in his heart.  
If supernatural power be obtained by shaving the head,  
Why should not sheep obtain salvation?  
If, O brethren, the chaste man is saved  
Why should not a eunuch obtain the supreme state?  
Kabir says, hear, O my brethren, who has obtained deliverance without the name  
of God?¶

God “prefers before all temples the upright heart and pure” :

What *availeth* devotion, what penance, what fasting and worship  
To him in whose heart there is worldly love?  
O man, apply the heart to God.  
Thou shalt not obtain Him by artifice.  
Put away covetousness and regard for *what* people *say of thee*.  
Renounce lust, wrath and pride.  
By the religious ceremonies of the *Hindus* conceit is produced,  
That if they join and worship a stone *they shall receive salvation*.  
Kabir says by serving *Him* I have obtained the Lord.  
By becoming simple in heart I have met my God.¶

Kabir tried to level all class distinctions :

While dwelling in the womb man has neither family nor caste.  
All things have sprung from the seed of Brahm.  
Say, O Pandit, how long hast thou been a Brahmin?  
Do not waste thy life calling thyself a Brahmin.  
If thou art a Brahmin born of a Brahmin mother,  
Why didst thou not come by some other way?  
How art thou a Brahmin and I a Sudra?  
How am I made of blood and you of milk?  
Kabir says in my estimation  
*Only* he who knoweth God is a Brahmin.\*\*

\* Slok Kabir, 75.

† Slok Kabir, 184.

‡ Ram is an ordinary name of God in the Granth Sahib.

§ Slok Kabir, 190 and 191.

¶ Ganri Kabir, sabd 4.

¶ Rag Ganri Kabir, sabd 6.

\*\* Rag Ganri Kabir, sabd 7.

The following is a remonstrance to a Pandit who found impurity and caste defilement in almost everything :

There is impurity in water, there is impurity in land, there is impurity in whatever is born,

There is impurity in birth *itself*, again in death ; *God's* subjects are ruined by *this belief* in impurity.

O Pandit, tell me who is pure.

Tell me what you know on the subject, my friend,

There is impurity in the eyes, there is impurity in the tongue, there is impurity in the ears.

In standing or sitting there is impurity ; impurity enters the kitchen.

Everyone knows how to be caught *in impurity*, but scarcely any how to escape from it.

Kabir says no impurity attaches to him who meditates on God in his heart.\*

In Kabir's estimation ritualistic practices are of no avail—

How many wear the bark of trees as clothes ! What if men dwell in the forest ?

What availeth it, O man, to offer incense to idols and drench thy body with ablutions ?

O my soul, I know that thou shalt depart.

O silly one, know God.

Wherever I look I see none but those who are entangled in worldly love.

Men of Divine knowledge and meditation, great preachers all are *engrossed* in this world's affairs.

Kabir says, without the name of the one God, this world is blinded by Mammon.

Kabir in his spiritual humility coveted slander and the contempt of the world :—

Slander, slander me, ye people, slander ;

Slander is most pleasing to God's servant.

Slander is my father, slander my mother.

If I am slandered I shall go to heaven

And store in my heart the wealth of God's name.

If I am slandered when my heart is pure,

The slanderer shall wash my clothes for me.

He who slanders me is my friend ;

My heart goes out to the slanderer.

He is the slanderer who prevents my being slandered.

The slanderer desires *long life for me*.

To slander I bear love and affection ;

Slander effects my salvation.

To God's servant Kabir slander is the best thing.

The slanderer is lost ; I am saved.†

The following is a satire on the Brahmins of Banaras :—

They wear loin-cloths three and a half yards long and three *sacrificial* threads ;‡

They carry rosaries on their necks, and glittering brass utensils in their hands.

They should not be called saints of God, but cheats of Banaras.

Such saints are not pleasing to me ;

They gulp down trees with their branches ;

They scrub their vessels and put them *on fires* whose wood has been washed ;

They dig up the earth, make two fireplaces,§ and eat up men whole.

\* Ganri Kabir, sabd 4.

† Ganri Rag Kabir, sabd.

‡ Also translated—change their threads three times a day.

§ One for curry and one for unleavened bread. It is supposed to be a luxury to have two fireplaces.

Those sinners ever wander in sin, yet they call themselves the Untouching.  
 Ever and ever they wander about in their pride and ruin all their families.  
 Man is attached to what *God* has attached him, and his acts correspond.  
 Kabir says he who meets the true Guru shall not be born again.\*

The following was addressed to a Kazi or Mahammadan magistrate, and turns on the practice of circumcision :—

Whence have come the Hindus and the Musalmans? Who has invented their religion †

Having thought and reflected in thy heart, answer this—

Who shall go to heaven or hell?

O Kazi, what books dost thou expound?

Such readers and students as thou have *failed*. None of *them* has obtained the information.

Thou practisest circumcision through love for woman; I shall never agree to it O brother.

If God had *desired* to make me a Musalman, I should have been born circumcised.

If a man is to be made a Musalman by circumcision, what is to be done to a woman?

Thou clingest to thy wife who is half thy body; wherefore thou shouldst have remained a Hindu.

Give up thy books, O foolish man, repeat God's *name*, thou practisest gross oppression.

Kabir has laid hold of the prop of God, the Musalmans have totally failed.‡

Kabir unlike his successor Nanak deprecated the destruction of life in any form :

Thou cuttest leaves, O flower girl; but in every leaf there is life.

The stone for which thou gatherest the leaves is lifeless.

Thou art in error, O flower girl, in this.

The true Guru is a wakeful God.

Brahma is in the leaves, Vishnu in the branches, and Shiva in the flowers.

Thou openly destroyest three Gods; whom dost thou worship?

The *sculptor* carving the stone turned it into an idol, and *in doing so* put his foot upon its breast.

If it were a real God it would have eaten him up.

Men cook rice, dal, pudding, pan-cakes and *Kāsar*.

The officiating Brahmins eat all these things, and *put* ashes into the idol's mouth.

The flower-girl is in error and leads the world astray.

Kabir says, God has mercifully preserved me *from error*.§

The following is addressed to a Kazi who desired that Kabir should perform the usual Mahammadan fasts and ceremonies :

I am God's poor slave, royal state is pleasing to thee.

The eternal|| God, the Lord of religions, never ordained tyranny.

O Kazi, nothing is accomplished by *mere* words.

It is not by fasting and praying and repeating the creed that one goes to Heaven.

The inner veil of the temple of Makha is in man's heart, if *the truth* be known.

The administration of justice should be thy prayers

Knowledge of the inscrutable one thy creed

The subjugation of thine evil passions thy prayer-carpet, then shouldst thou know what religion is.

Recognize the Lord, take pity in thy heart on living things, subdue and disdain thy pride.

Know *God* thyself and cause others to know Him, then shalt thou become a partner in Heaven.

Matter is one, but has assumed divers shapes; in the midst of them recognize God.

Kabir says, thou hast abandoned heaven and attached thyself to hell¶

\* Rag Asa Kabir, sabd 2.

† Literally, who has struck out their ways?

‡ Rag Asa Kabir, sabd 7.

§ Rag Asa Kabir, sabd 14

|| Awwal, who was in the beginning.

¶ Rag Asa Kabir, sabd 17.

The following is a lecture against the veiling of women. It was addressed to the second wife of Kamal, Kabir's son :

Stay, stay my daughter-in-law, do not veil thy face.  
At the last moment it shall not avail thee a kauri.  
Thy predecessor used to veil her face ;  
Follow not thou in her footsteps.  
The only advantage of veiling thy face is,  
That for five or ten days *people may say that* a virtuous daughter-in-law has come.  
Thy veil shall only be real,  
If thou sing God's praises, and skip and dance *in His service*.  
Kabir says, O daughter-in-law, thou shalt be victorious  
When thy life passes in singing God's praises.\*

The following contains an uncompromising denunciation of the sacred books of the Hindus and Musalmans :

By the favour of the guru the slave Kabir loves God.  
O Brethren, the Vedas and Mahammadan books are lies and free not the mind from anxiety.

If for a moment thou restrain thy mind, God shall appear before thee.  
O man search thy heart daily, that thou mayst not fall into despair.  
This world is a magic show *which has* no tangibility.  
Men read falsehood and are pleased ; they quarrel over what they do not understand.  
The truth is the Creator is contained in the Creation. He is not of a blue colour *like*

*Krishna.*

Thou hast not bathed in the river which flows in heaven.  
Take heed, be ever watchful, *God is everywhere* present.  
God is the purest of the pure ; if you find another equal to Him, then entertain doubt.  
He to whom the merciful One has shown mercy knows Him.†

Kabir's strictures on the Hindu as well as the Musalman religion led to his persecution on several occasions. He was exposed to the rage of a furious elephant, to drowning and to other grave ordeals, but was miraculously preserved as he states on all such occasions by the direct intervention of God. Many of Kabir's followers believe that he still survives in defiance of persecution and the centuries which have passed since his ascertained birth.

\* Rag Asa Kabir, sabd 34.

† Rag Tilang Kabir, sabd 1.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. E. MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

MR SMYTHE PALMER, under the title of "Babylonian influence on the Bible and popular beliefs" has published an interesting study on the two first chapters of Genesis\* of which the following are the principal conclusions.

The Mosaic record of the Creation is based on the more ancient accounts which have been preserved in the Babylonian tablets. The religious conceptions of the Babylonians, which formed the basis of the early faith of the Hebrews, seem to have had their suggestion in some of the phenomenal aspects of nature, more especially in the sun-drama which has evoked the religious enthusiasm of most primitive peoples. As the Babylonian sun-god Merodach, the Lord of Light, was held to be the creator of the earth, on the other hand, the dark, turbid waters of the sea, out of which the sun was seen to rise, became a vivid image of that primeval chaos from which the world was called forth. This tumultuous water, the envelope of the earth-mass, was personified as a dragon or serpentine monster, *Tiāmat*, and from being the representative of physical evil, became ultimately significant of moral evil. Among the Hebrews this serpent or dragon is the being that introduces sin among the newly created race.

The work by Clifford Howard on "Sex-worship"† has for its object a general presentation of phallicism, or worship of the generative organs and their functions. The facts and views set forth by the author are very interesting, but the theme of the "phallic origin of religion" is entirely paradoxical. "Phallic worship," says the author, "was not confined to any one race, nor to any particular age in the history of the world, but was the religion of all nations at all times." Phallicism reached a high development among the ancient Semitic populations, but what is one to think of the author when he writes: "We find that the fundamental religious beliefs of the world have remained unchanged from time immemorial, all pointing to a common origin, to a universal foundation, the worship of nature in its great mystery of life and procreation"? To Clifford Howard everything in every religion is a manifestation and a symbol of phallic worship: pillars and towers of Christian churches, etc.; all is originally of sexual significance: cross, altar, celebration of Christmas and of Easter, pyramids, etc., etc. It is to be regretted that a work of value is disparaged by such evident exaggerations.

## ARABIC.

A new review, in the Arabic language, has just appeared in Beyrouth; it is printed at the Catholic Press of that town and is entitled *Al-Machrig*, an Arabic bi-monthly Catholic Review, Scientific and Literary, under the direction of the *Pères de l'Université St. Joseph*. This review is specially

\* London, David Nutt, 1897.

† Washington, published by the author, 1897.

devoted to the study of all religious, scientific, literary and historical questions concerning the East and with publishing original texts, and to bring to notice the works of Orientalists. Each number (two have already appeared) contains a bibliographical bulletin, in which an account is given of publications relating to the East.

Mr. V. Chauvin has just published an interesting fascicule on "Pacolet and the Thousand and One Nights."\* He recognises in the celebrated Arabic collection the origin of a well-known popular legend.

In our last Report we omitted to mention, in reference to the epigraphic works of Mr. van Berchem, the valuable article which he has published in the "*Journal Asiatique*" (May-June 1897) upon the "*Épigraphie des Assassins de Syrie*." Mr. van Berchem is a past master in this kind of work.

At the last moment we received the 19th and 20th fascicules of the "*Grammaire de Sibawaihi*," edited by Jahn; we hope to see this important work completed.

#### THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

In our last Report (January 1898) we referred to the very remarkable account of Mr. Clermont-Ganneau on the probable site of the tombs of the Kings of Judah. Considering the importance of the paper, we intend devoting, as an exceptional case, the larger portion of this Report to its examination.

Mr. Clermont-Ganneau considers that the necropolis of the Kings of Judah is to be found in the hill, south-east of Jerusalem, which is called Ophel. This hill seems to have been, in reality, the site of primitive Jerusalem, which in the Bible is called "the City of David." It was upon the northern side of "this hill of Zion" that the temple stood; and it was at its eastern base where gushed forth the only fountain that Jerusalem ever possessed. All Mr. Clermont-Ganneau's topographical arguments go to confirm this view.

The hill of Ophel is perforated by an excavated tunnel dating from the eighth century before Christ, and very probably from King Hezekiah's time.† This tunnel is a subterranean aqueduct intended to lead to the basin or piscina of Siloam, situated to the south-east of Jerusalem the water of an intermittent spring, which issues from the base of the east side of the hill of Ophel; this water, left to its own natural course, flows through the valley of Kedron. In ancient times when the hill of Ophel was defended on its eastern side by an enclosing wall, which for strategic reasons should have been built upon the height, the spring, the water of which flowed into the brook Kedron, was necessarily left outside the walls. It was to remedy this great inconvenience, in the event of the city being besieged, that a sort of covered way was contrived, thus giving access to the water of the spring. This covered way consists of a very curious and complicated system of wells, and of horizontal galleries and inclines, which were discovered in 1868.

The subterranean canal, formed of a series of galleries, some straight and some curved, is 533 metres in length. An inscription, which has been discovered, shows that the work was effected by two gangs of miners who

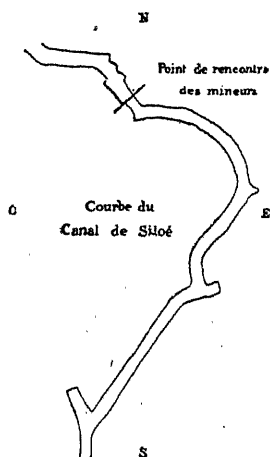
\* WALLONIA (Jan.-Feb., 1898).

† 2 Kings xx. 20.

started from opposite sides and met, in spite of the imperfect means then adopted for excavations of this kind. We read in the inscription that the miner "heard the voice of his companion when he called him," (2nd and 3rd lines) for the workmen "struck at each other, pick against pick when meeting" (4th line). The narrowness of the gallery, the mean width of which is 0.63 metre, and the height 1.116 metres, does not, in reality, permit of more than one miner to work and only in a sitting posture; it is true that this position, which we should consider very uncomfortable, is one that eastern workmen prefer.

The canal of Siloam has a most peculiar characteristic, which has up to now been unexplained; the tunnel is not rectilinear. If the constructors had allowed it would have been relatively easy to have excavated in a straight line, as we can see from the processes of the "repérage" (bench-marking) employed by the ancients in subterranean works of art. A simple placing of offset slaves in the ground by means of lights corresponding to the exterior signals would have been sufficient, but the engineers did not wish to construct a rectilinear aqueduct and they must have had their reasons for acting as they did.

At first the canal of Siloam appears to be arbitrarily sinuous, but on examining it closer, one does not fail to recognise that the two unequal curves, and in the inverse sense in which it appears, in those parts of its route which touch at the two extremities, are intentional. In the accompanying drawing will be perceived the larger of the curves which possesses the greater interest for us. The reader will notice the spot of the meeting of the two parties of workmen\* with the traces of hesitation on the part of the miners who were upon the point of passing by each other, by diverging more and more in two different directions. The reader will also verify the existence of several galleries, commenced but unfinished. To these tentative galleries must be added a certain number of pits or wells, which are not marked on the drawing, and of which traces have been found. These wells which passed out on the summit, not far from the hill, were bench-marks (the guiding points) to rectify the direction followed by the miners, and, at the same time, acted for the ventilation of the tunnel.



\* It is at this spot where the inscription, from which we have quoted, is engraved.

What are the two curves for? The smallest, situated towards the north at the side of the spring, can be explained in the following way:—the *détour* (winding) imposed on the underground gallery, may have been intended to allow access to the canal from the top of the hill by means of a pit 50 metres deep. Owing to this circuit the aqueduct passed under a part of the city included in the circumference of the protecting wall; the inhabitants of this elevated quarter could therefore draw water direct from the aqueduct of Siloam.

As regards the larger curve, that of the south, Mr. Clermont-Ganneau thinks that it was caused by the absolute necessity of avoiding the necropolis or subterranean tomb of David and of those of the kings of Judah, a Necropolis which was excavated under the hill of Ophel. Evident proof is thus derived in the unfinished galleries and the pits of orientation (direction), which all seem to have for their object to keep the canal at a distance, at all cost, from the royal tombs. Indeed, if the inner wall ("*paroi*") of rock had been perforated, the sepulchral vault would have been inundated, and the possibility of its violation made easier.

What gives a very great weight to the hypothesis of Mr. Clermont-Ganneau is, that it alone gives a sufficient and analytical explanation of the large curve of the aqueduct of Siloam. There must have been of necessity an imperative motive for this strange deviation of a canal which was so much easier to make rectilinear as many of its parts offer straight sections.

A legend of Jewish origin, related in a pamphlet on the lives and sepulchres of the prophets which is attributed to Epiphanius (who died 403 A.D.) supports this conjecture. According to this narrative, the prophet Isaiah, who was about to be put to death by the King Manasses, is supposed to be buried under the oak of Rogel\* "close to the passage of waters (springs) which Hezekiah had caused to disappear by covering them up (with earth)." This source, says the legend, was intermittent. The tomb which the Jews are supposed to have erected to the prophet, near Siloam, (Siloé) was situated not far from the tombs of the Kings, on the south side.

King David, according to the Bible (1 Kings ii. 10), was interred in "the city of David," that is to say, upon the hill of Ophel; according to tradition, it was Solomon who is said to have built towards the east of Zion, the tomb of David, with a difficult, complicated entrance free from suspicion. If the tomb of the Kings of Judah is actually dug under the hill of Ophel, the entrance to it must be very small, as is the case with many an ancient royal Necropolis, probably, to all appearances, the mouth of a well.

Mr. Clermont-Ganneau asks for a few thousand francs to be devoted to making preliminary borings for the purpose of confirming or confuting his hypothesis. The experiment is a hundred times worth the trouble of trying it. Will a generous donor be found to facilitate this enterprise? We venture to hope it. Happy the scholar who is entrusted with these researches. Suppose one were to discover some day the tomb of David and of the Kings of Judah? After all said, it is not impossible.

\* Name of a spring quoted in the Bible, and which appears to have been the source of Siloam.



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VOLS. XXIX. AND XXX.—GRIHYA SUTRAS. TRANSLATED  
 BY H. OLDENBERG.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RETD.).

THE texts translated in these two volumes have a more than merely scholastic interest, inasmuch as they are the manuals of a worship which has survived from the remotest antiquity to the present day. They contain the rules for that elaborate ritual of domestic ceremonies which attends the life of the orthodox Hindu from before his birth till after his remains have been consumed on the funeral pyre. Seven of these manuals are translated in these volumes, but as they differ from each other for the most part only in unimportant particulars, it will be perhaps enough for the "casual reader" whom Professor Max Müller holds in such abhorrence, and even for the "serious reader" (*not* student) whose existence he ignores, if the contents of the principal Sūtras are here set forth.

The ancient sages differed in opinion as to the point at which such a manual should begin. Some held that a man's birth was the proper point at which to commence the detail of his religious performances. Others, looking deeper into the root of things, held that such a series should begin with the man's father, so as to include the preparations and preliminaries of the individual's existence. Thus Sāṅkhāyana, whose Sūtra is the first in these volumes, begins at the point when the young Brahman, having completed his period of study, passes on to the stage of a householder. He is first to light his domestic fire from the sacred fire of his teacher, on which during the years of his tuition he has daily had to place fresh wood. The inauguration of the domestic fire is to be accompanied by an elaborate ritual, and followed—like everything else that a Hindu does—by distribution of food to Brahmans. Then he is to set about getting married, for which purpose, having selected the young woman, he is to send wooers to her father. The person to be selected must have the auspicious characteristics—namely, her limbs must be well proportioned, her hair smooth, and on her neck she must have two curls turned to the right. It is added "of such a girl he shall know that she will give birth to six men." The wooers, on arriving at the father's house, take flowers, fruits, barley, and a pot of water, and ask the girl in marriage. If the offer is accepted, further ceremonies follow. If, however, a woman having the auspicious signs is not to be found, Gobhila prescribes a curious test. The man is to take earth from eight places,—an altar, a furrow, a pond, a cowshed, a place where four roads meet, a gambling-place, a burning-ground, and sterile land. To these he is to add a ninth made of all the foregoing mixed together, and having marked them so as to know which is which, he is to offer them to the girl. If she takes one of the first four, and according to some the ninth, he is to marry her, but if she selects one of the last four he is to

reject her. The symbolism here is tolerably apparent. As Asvaláyana explains it, if she chooses the earth from an altar, her offspring will be pious; from the furrow, rich in food; from the cowshed, rich in cattle; from the pond (or perennial spring), rich in everything. On the other hand, the earth from the four roads shows that they will be unsettled or dissipated; from the gambling place, gamblers; from the sterile spot, poor; and if she takes that from the burning-ground, she will bring death to her husband. Why the mixed clod should be fortunate is not explained.

The marriage ceremony is long and tedious in the present day, and could hardly be otherwise if the rules prescribed in the Sûtras are fully observed. The chief features indeed do not seem to have changed much if at all from the earliest times, and are almost identically described in the seven Sûtras contained in these two volumes. The bride is washed, dressed in a new robe, and seated behind the fire while sacrifices and dances are performed before her. Then the bridegroom arrives escorted by "happy young women who are not widows." This last part of the ceremony is omitted in the present day when Hindu women, following Musulman example, are prohibited from appearing in public; but the bridegroom's procession, usually by torchlight, with its crowd of noisy musicians and followers, is a familiar sight in the India of to-day. On arrival he gives the bride a robe and a mirror, while the relations tie amulets with coloured threads to her body. More sacrifices follow, after which the bridegroom seizes the bride's hand with the formula, "This I am, that art thou; that art thou, this am I; the heaven I, the earth thou; the Rik art thou, the Saman I; so be thou devoted to me. Well. Let us here marry. Let us beget offspring. Let us acquire many sons who may reach old age." After some minor forms the next important rite follows. Hand in hand the couple walk round the sacred fire, and the bride sacrifices fried grain, and they then take seven steps towards the north-east. Every detail of the ceremony is accompanied by recitation of verses from the Vedas, and the whole as usual concludes with a feast to the Brahmans to whom also presents are given.

The Sûtras then go on to describe the ceremonies attendant on the departure of the bride to her husband's house. In the present day, when the bride and bridegroom are generally very young children, the homecoming of the bride is necessarily delayed for some years, and is then treated as if it were almost a second marriage. In fact, it is called in some places "punar viváha," literally "re-marriage."

The above is a fair specimen of the ceremonies prescribed by the Sûtras. Their intricacy is of course intentional, the object being to render the assistance of Brahmans indispensable. In many of the other rites there is less detail, but in all the recitation of verses from the Vedas is an essential feature. Such are the ceremonies to secure the birth of a male child, the parting of the wife's hair with a porcupine's quill in the fourth month of pregnancy, and those attending on the confinement. Even in these ancient rules we already find the curious custom, still prevalent, by which the new-born child has a name given to him which is known only to

the parents and the Brahman who prepares the horoscope, while it has a second name for ordinary use. In the sixth month comes the Anna-prāsana or first feeding of the child with solid food, and after one year the Churákarma or first shaving of the head.

In the eighth year after conception—not after birth—the Brahman boy is initiated, in the eleventh year the Kshatriya, in the twelfth the Vaisya. Thence he passes into the stage of studentship, which is attended by many ceremonies and observances of an extremely minute kind, the close of which brings him round to the householder stage, from which we started.

But the ancient sages were not contented with merely laying down rules for the ordinary ceremonies of a lifetime. They also provided rites and sacrifices to meet many cases of a special and miscellaneous kind. For building a house, for ploughing, for matters relating to cattle, for diseases, for death, for the peculiar Sráddha rites (in which offerings are made to ancestors), and many other things elaborate ceremonies are prescribed. The Sráddha is of special importance from a worldly point of view, as the admission of persons to take part in it is equivalent legally to admitting their right to partake of the inheritance of the person whose Sráddha is being celebrated. This ceremony is performed in the present day by great crowds of pilgrims at the sacred city of Gaya, and the quaint and elaborate ritual may be watched from a respectful distance by the interested European. There is in this, as in all or nearly all Hindu ceremonies, a remarkable absence of pomp or splendour, an extreme, almost childish, simplicity marks the whole proceedings.

It is remarkable also, having regard to the extreme horror which modern Hindus entertain for the killing of cows, that in all but one of these ancient Sūtras it is distinctly specified that a cow is to be killed in honour of a guest. In recent times the announcement of this fact by a distinguished Hindu gentleman of Calcutta gave rise to a storm of controversy among his co-religionists. Apart from the admitted fact that *goghna* = "cow-killer, one for whom a cow is killed," is a Sanskrit term for guest, the language of the Grihya Sūtras seems to leave no doubt on the subject, though doubtless the practice of substituting some symbol for a real cow was introduced at an early date. Still, the very existence of the symbol testifies to the reality of the actual sacrifice in primitive times.

Sāṅkhāyana (ii. 15) directs that on the arrival of a guest of a certain class the householder is to make ready *a cow*, a goat, or whatever kind of food most resembles these, and he adds, "Let the Argha (offering) not be without flesh."

Āsvalāyana (i. 24, 30) says, "When he (the guest) has sipped water they announce to him the cow. Having murmured twice, 'Destroyed is my sin,' he says, 'Om! do it,' if he chooses to have her killed. Having murmured, 'The mother of the Rudras,' etc." (a text from the Rig-veda), "he says, 'Om! let her loose,' if he chooses to let her loose. Let the Madhuparka" (an offering of honey, milk, curds, etc.) "not be without flesh."

Pāraskara (i. 3, 27) is only slightly different: "When the guest has sipped water, the host, holding a butcher's knife, says to him three times,

'A cow!' He replies, 'The mother of the Rudras,' etc. 'To the people that understand me, I say, "Do not kill the guiltless cow, which is Aditi. I kill my sin, and N.N.'s (the host's?) sin"'—thus if he chooses to have it killed. But if he chooses to let it loose, he should say, 'My sin and N.N.'s sin has been killed. Om! let it loose! let it eat grass!' But let not the Argha be without flesh."

Hiranyakesi also observes that the cow is either killed or let loose, and his formula is similar to those already quoted.

Āpastamba likewise contemplates the killing as well as the loosing of the cow. Gobhila alone is somewhat obscure on the point, and Khādīra, which is merely a late abridgement of Gobhila (iv. 4, 17), omits all mention of the killing, and prescribes that the cow shall be let loose.

It will be seen from the above that there is a great mass of highly-interesting matter in these volumes, but as regards the editing of the texts, while admiring the learning and industry it displays, one may be permitted to regret that attention has been given to points of abstruse scholarship to the almost entire exclusion of explanations and elucidations of the subjects contained in the text. It is also a fair ground of complaint that the reader is too often referred to notes in the writer's German translation instead of having the information supplied to him in the work itself.

## MONGOLIA,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON "THE PARTITION OF CHINA."

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL W. E. GOWAN (RETD.).

## THE PARTITION OF CHINA.

SINCE the publication of my translation, headed "The Chinese Viceroyalty of Manchuria," which appeared in the January and April numbers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for the year 1895, a treaty of peace has been concluded between China and Japan, known as the "Treaty of Shimono-seki," but, under pressure from three of the Great Powers of Europe (Germany, Russia and France), the advantages which had accrued to the victorious Japanese by the ratification of the above treaty have become reduced to (1) the occupation of the port of Wei-Hai-Wei, on the promontory of Shantung, until the indemnity exacted from the Chinese shall have been paid off, and (2) the retention of the island of Formosa.

Later developments in the Far East now point to the early liquidation of the Chinese indemnity, by means of a foreign loan, and an excellent opportunity will thus be afforded to at least one of the Powers, that are now seeking to parcel out the Chinese Empire, to give to Japan a notice to at once quit the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li and to restrict her sphere of influence to the island of Formosa further south.

Indeed, the terms of the treaty above-mentioned had hardly been announced when it became apparent that, as the Trans-Siberian Railway drew near to a successful completion and as the steady development of Russian military colonisation was continued along the course of the Amur, the question of Russian influence over the whole of Northern China would come to the front, as the natural result of the steady pursuit of the policy of the Russian Government towards the establishment of Russian land and sea power as the dominant factor in the Far East.

Hence the repeated declarations of the Russian press that Russia would never permit either a Japanese protectorate over Korea or the retention by the same power of any territory from which she could interfere with her own absorption of Manchuria.

The rapid but perfectly consistent shaping of events in this part of the world has revealed that the real aims of Russia have been directed (1) towards the utilisation of a large proportion of the teeming population of the "Middle Kingdom" (after the necessary training and instruction in the use of arms had been effected) as a powerful weapon of offence, and (2) towards the unrestricted development of the unrivalled resources of the huge slice of territory which is situated between the course of the Amur and what is already, practically, the Russian dependency of Korea.

Should Russia succeed in effecting such a consummation of her far-

sighted plans she will acquire, without a struggle, a position that can then only be adequately described by the name which has long been that of her hitherto principal port in the Pacific, viz., Vladivostok or "Possessor of the East."

One disturbing element in the careful elaboration of this grand stroke has undoubtedly been the swift resolve and the equally rapid action of that remarkable man, the German Emperor, in the seizure of the Chinese port of Kiao-Chau, situated on the southern coast-line of the Shantung promontory.

What effect this result of the taking to heart by the Kaiser of the lessons taught by a close study of Captain Mahan's valuable works on "Sea Power" may ultimately have on Russian policy in the Far East cannot, at present, be positively discerned.

In the meantime, it should be carefully noted that Russia is steadily engaged in concentrating, in Chinese waters, not a number of vessels of a more or less obsolete type but a most powerful fleet of the most modern war-ships and that she has already begun the military occupation of Manchuria.

Whether, under such a condition of affairs, Japan will feel herself strong enough, without the vessels which are now being built for her in foreign countries, to accept the challenge which Russia has already practically thrown down before her or whether Russia will halt, even for a time, or still more doggedly pursue the policy which she has hitherto kept steadily in view and show a disregard of the *platform* speeches about "war" and "open doors" on the part of British politicians, is still an open question.

This much, however, is most certain that the first shot fired, even in the most distant part of the world, will kindle the abundance of the highly inflammable material that has already been stored in every quarter of the globe, and it may be also confidently predicted that the result of any such universal conflagration will be very considerable changes in the colouring of the map of the entire world, since the only too familiar spectacle (I had almost written "spectre") of the so-called "European Concert" has been but a gruesome revelation of the grouping and regrouping of rival Powers, each completely distrustful of the other's aims.\*

A reference to a large scale map of the Chinese Empire will show that Russia, having once consolidated her power over Manchuria and Korea, can, without let or hindrance, move north and west until she has brought herself into the possession of Kashgaria or Chinese Turkistan and so to another point of vantage with regard to the frontiers of British India. It

\* That the "European Concert" of this decade differs in no respect from the one of the previous decade can be seen by referring to p. 401 of *Letters of Frederic Lord Blachford*, London, 1896, which includes the following, addressed to Dean Church, dated "Blachford, October 17, 1880":

"What a muff 'European Concert' is, unless one or more powers are prepared and allowed to act Constable! . . . The eternal promise and the eternal breach and the eternal surprise at being eternally taken in exactly the same way, and the eternal objections to the only mode of breaking through the eternal dilemma, are enough to choke one."

will, therefore, not be inappropriate, in the present conjuncture of affairs in the Far East, to publish an account of "Mongolia" as a sequence to my paper on "Manchuria."

The general position of affairs in the Far East at this period seems to be as follows :

I. Russia, already in the possession of a perfectly unassailable military and naval position at Vladi-vostók to the north-east of Korea, is still holding on to Port Arthur and to the adjoining bay of Ta-lien-wan in and near the Straits of Pe-chi-li. She is also in practical military occupation of Manchuria. This will enable her to proceed with the incorporation of Mongolia whenever she chooses, and then the whole of Northern and Western China will be at her mercy.

II. Germany, having secured for herself, without a blow, the port of Kia-Chau, to the south of the Shan-tung promontory, is quietly proceeding to develop the resources of the large area of country which she has acquired "in satisfaction for the murder of her missionaries."

III. Japan, with an army of considerable size and of proved efficiency, both as to administrative and fighting capacity, seems to be waiting for the arrival in her own waters\* of the "Shikishima," the "Yashi-ma" and the "Fuji," and other of the fastest and most powerful battle-ships afloat, to augment her already formidable navy, which is infinitely superior to anything that the rival powers can place in Chinese waters *without danger to their other interests elsewhere*. Meanwhile and until China is able to pay off the final instalment of the large indemnity exacted from her as part of the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki,† the port of Wei-Ha-Wei, almost immediately opposite to Port Arthur, will certainly be retained by the very effective power which has, not inaptly, been called "the Great Britain of the East."

IV. France, once more engaged with popular outbursts and under the complete control of the leaders of the military and colonial parties, has not added very largely to her naval strength in Chinese waters, in view, perhaps, of the possibility of her war-ships being required nearer home.

V. Great Britain, having wisely recognised that, in the general game of grab, other powers have rights equal to her own, has, nevertheless, managed to obtain from the, at present helpless Chinese, important concessions under the four following heads :

1. The internal waterways of China will be opened to British and other steamers in the course of June next, so that wherever the use of native boats is now permitted by treaty, foreigners shall be equally allowed to employ steamers or steam launches, whether owned by them or Chinese.

2. In view of the great importance attached by Great Britain to the retention of the Yangtse region in Chinese possession, the Chinese Government have formally intimated to the British Government that there can be no question of territory in the valley or region of the Yangtse being mortgaged, leased, or ceded to any Power.

3. The post of Inspector-General of Maritime Customs shall in the

\* Later information shows that the vessels named are already there.

† Signed in May, 1895.



future, as in the past, be held by a British subject, so long as British trade with China at the ports continues to exceed that of any other Power.

4. A port will be opened in the Hunan within two years.

With regard, however, to the general question of the future of China it may be of interest to here call to mind an expression of opinion on the part of Lord Wolseley who, at one time, at any rate, regarded the Chinese "as the coming race." This opinion, published in 1890,\* may be his opinion still.

"The Chinese," said Lord Wolseley, following Prof. C. Pearson of King's College, London, "are the coming nation. The Chinese will, I think, overrun the world. The Battle of Armageddon will take place between the Chinese and the English-speaking races.† . . . Some day a great general or lawgiver will arise in China and the Chinese, who have been motionless for three centuries, will begin to progress. They will take to the profession of arms and then they will hurl themselves upon the Russian Empire. Before the Chinese armies—as they possess every military virtue, are stolidly indifferent to death and capable of inexhaustible endurance—the Russians will go down. Then the Chinese armies will march westward. They will overrun India, sweeping us into the sea. Asia will belong to them and then, at last, English, Americans, Australians will have to rally for a last desperate conflict. So certain do I regard this that I think one fixed point of our policy should be to strain every nerve and make every sacrifice to keep on good terms with China. China is the coming power."‡

As a matter of argument it might be suggested that if such a forecast is destined to prove correct, the present partition of China must, at least, defer the uprising of such an overwhelming power.

This much may, at any rate, be here said that, in the light of the present condition of affairs, some years must necessarily elapse before Lord Wolseley's prognostications are likely to be fulfilled. But what seems to be more immediately imminent is a fierce struggle between Russia and Japan for supremacy in the Far East. It would seem too that the victors in that conflict (and the longer it is deferred the less chance will there be

\* Republished in the *Review of Reviews* for September, 1890.

† Curiously enough the present German Emperor is credited with the expression of an opinion that the future danger of the peace of the world lies in "the English-speaking races"!

‡ In this connection much interest has been excited in Japan by an article of Prince Konoye, the President of the Upper House of the Diet or Parliament, on the necessity for an alliance between Japan and China "to resist the aggression of Western nations and their growing aggrandisement in the Far East." Temporary diplomatic considerations, the Prince observes, may lead to combinations which, for the moment, obscure the main issue; these are mere incidents detached from the great struggle between the yellow and white peoples, in which the Chinese and Japanese must inevitably find themselves allies. Prince Konoye is much concerned at the tendency among his countrymen, especially those resident in China, to imitate the evil example of Europeans and to affect to despise the Chinese. He deplores the foolish jubilation of Japanese at the fall of China. It is true the fall of the Manchu dynasty is not of great concern to Japan, but the destiny of the Chinese nation is of much deeper import, for with it, he says, is bound up that of Japan. A Japanese journal, discussing the same topic, also urges that Japan should pursue towards China the policy of Prussia to Austria after 1866.

for Japan)\* will eventually lead the Chinese to that destiny which many who are intimately acquainted with the Chinese Empire and with the characteristics of its teeming millions seem to regard as the inevitable future of this portion—the largest portion—of the “Yellow race,” the passage from a sleep of centuries into the formation of an enormous military and naval force which will prove a veritable scourge to the civilised world.

#### MONGOLIA.†

Mongolia, viewed from the standpoint of its natural boundaries, presents the appearance of a very elevated country, which is shut in by the following mountain chains and ranges: on the north by the Altai, the Sayan and Kentei mountains, on the north-east by a prolongation of the Kentei mountains known under the name of the Eren-Daban range, on the east by the chain of the Greater Hingan, on the south-east by the extreme end of the Mongolian table-land of In-shan, and on the south-west by the mountain chain of the Southern Altai. The average absolute height of Mongolia, according to all the known hypsometrical data of the present day, is 4,600 ft.

It is only on the north and north-west, however (*i.e.*, on the side of the Russian possessions) that the administrative boundary of Mongolia corresponds with its natural geographical limits.‡ At all other points the administrative boundary recedes from the natural boundary and in many places to a very considerable distance. Thus, on the west, the natural boundary of Mongolia, after passing beyond the Southern Altai, reaches the banks of the rivers Ak-Kaba and Alka-Bek and there ascends the Black Irtysh. From here it turns southwards and then runs conterminous with the Tarbagatai Circle. Further to the south-west the natural boundary crosses the Chungarian and Gobi steppes and finally reaches the western end of the Great Wall at the Tszia-Yui-Hooan gates. On the south and south-east, the frontier-line follows the direction taken by the Great Wall, which here marks the boundary between the provinces of Han-Soo and Shen-Si. After this it crosses the steppe and follows the course of the river Shara-Mooren. On the east it crosses the range of the Greater Hingan, and so reaches the towns of Chan-Choon and Hoolan-Chen, which lie within the limits of Manchuria. From here the frontier-line passes along the western slopes of the Greater Hingan range which flanks Russian territory on the side of the province of Trans-Baikal. Within these approximately described limits the table-land of Mongolia covers an area of 50,234 square miles,§ but its population scarcely exceeds 3,000,000 souls,

\* In Chapters XIX., XX., and XXXVII. and Appendix E of the 2nd volume of Mrs. Bishop's “Korea and Her Neighbours” will be found ample material for the formation of this belief.

† From the Russian of Lieut. Z. Matusovski's “Sketch of the Chinese Empire.”

‡ A detailed account of the Russo-Chinese boundary-line is given in the Appendices to the above work.

§ It should be observed, that the above indicated boundaries of Mongolia, as also of the other territorial sub-divisions of China without the Great Wall, can only, in respect of administrative details, be said to be approximate inasmuch as there exist no sufficient data for a more precise delimitation.

It is only on the north-west and south-west that the mountains, which shut in the table-land of Mongolia, are distinguished for their considerable height, for on all the other sides the ranges have a considerably less altitude. On the north-west the Altai range serves as the natural boundary of Mongolia. In this locality this range goes by the name of Sailugem and towards the north the Sayan range runs into it, after forming a complete arc northwards round the province of the Upper Yenisei. The slopes of these border ranges are, for the most part, easy and are covered with dense forests. Their highest points do not, however, reach the same limit with the exception of Mount Moonkoo-Sardik, in the Sayan range, which rises up in the neighbourhood of the northern shore of Lake Kosogol. But in the south-eastern spurs of the Sailugem range is the group of the Harkir mountains which lie to the south-west of Lake Oobs, and which are covered with perpetual snow. Another south-eastern spur of the same range, the Tannoo-Oola, which shuts in the basin of the Upper Yenisei on the south, runs into the Sayan mountains further to the east, and it also joins on to the Hanhai mountains that constitute the inner mountain system of Mongolia. To the south-east of the Sayan mountains stretches the Kentei mountain country with its perpetual snow-clad peaks. The Eren-Daban peak of this system towers over the lofty Mongolian table-land on the north-east but the western and especially the southern branches of the same system are shorter and are not distinguished for any considerable height.

The crest of the Greater Hingan range, which serves as the physical boundary of the Mongolian table-land towards the east, rises but very slightly above this country and yet its relative height above the adjacent plains of Manchuria is very considerable. In a similar manner, the Mongolian table-land descends towards the south-east by the border range of the In-Shan into the depression of China Proper.

The long mountain chain of the Southern Altai, which shuts in the Mongolian table-land on the south and west, as it separates from the northern Altai system, in the very lofty snow-clad crests of Kanas and Tabin-Bogdo, recedes in a south-easterly direction for a distance of about  $1,066\frac{2}{3}$  miles. The very high peaks of the Southern Altai chain, which rise far above the limit of perpetual snow, lie near to the sources of the rivers Black Irtish, Boolgoon and Kobdo. Further to the south the same system splits off into two, three and, in places, even into four separate ranges, all of which fall considerably in height. In the central portion of the Southern Altai system there are, however, occasionally met with snow-clad mountains such as the Batir-Hairkhan, the Moonkoo-Tsastoo-Bogdo, the Ikhi-Bogdo and the Tsasto-Bogdo. The south-eastern portion of the Southern Altai system passes into a single range which shuts in the Desert of Gobi, at a point distant  $133\frac{1}{3}$  miles from the northern bend of the river Hooan-He. The countries, which lie to the south and south-west of the mountain system of the Southern Altai, fall considerably below the level of the Mongolian table-land, so that almost the entire length of this great mountain system must be considered as the border-land of lofty Mongolia.

In respect of its surface, Mongolia, which is enriched by the border-line

mountains above indicated, may be divided into two sharply contrasting portions, viz., the north-western, which is the chiefly mountainous portion and the south-eastern or a plain country. The approximate boundary-line between these two portions may be considered to be the line which passes from the highlands of the river Ooldzi (also called the Kooitoo in the southern part of its course) in a north-easterly direction towards Mount Ikhi-Bogdo in the Southern Altai system. The north-western portion or mountainous Mongolia comprises, besides the spurs of the Northern and Southern Altai, the Sayan mountains and the Kentei system, the detached mountain country called Hanhai and also several isolated ridges which rise up out of the steppe.

The Hanhai system consists of the very long range that stretches from north-west to south-east of the river Harkir (the south-western affluent of Lake Oobs) as far as the highlands of the river Ongiin-Gol for a distance of about  $666\frac{2}{3}$  miles. The greatest altitude (about 10,000 ft.), to which this range attains, is in the neighbourhood of the sources of the rivers Eder and Booyantoo but towards the north-west and south-east this range gradually falls. The north-eastern branches of the Hanhai range are very long, but the south-western are considerably shorter. By means of its long north-eastern spur, which stretches towards the left bank of the river Eder, the Hanhai range runs into the Tannoo-Oola range which again unites, as we have above remarked, with the Altai and Sayan mountains. With the Southern Altai system, however, the Hanhai range does not unite, as it is separated from it by a wide and barren valley. Throughout the whole of the elevated Hanhai country there is only one snow-clad mountain, called Bogdo-Oola or Bogdo-Hairkhan or Ochir-Vani. The absolute height of this peak, however, does not, in all probability, exceed 12,000 ft., and even this peak does not rise from the main range but from its south-western or Halkir spur, which lies to the east of the town of Oolyasootai.

In the Hanhai mountain system there are small forests of deciduous trees in which there roam deer of various kinds, wild pig, as well as smaller animals, such as squirrels and the like; but these forests cover only the northern slopes of the mountains, the southern slopes being altogether devoid of forest growth.

The north-western portion of Mongolia contains but few vast plains. Of these the following are the best known on account of their size: the plain country of Lake Oobs and along the lower course of its feeders the Tes and the Narin; the plain country of the two lakes Airik-Nor and Kirgiz-Nor as well as the plains surrounding Lakes Kara-Oosoo and Doorga-Nor with the adjacent desert to the south-east called Kisiin-Tala. All these plains are distinguished principally for their desert character. Indeed any form of life on them is to be seen only where the country is watered by either lakes or rivers. Of large sandy wastes there are in north-western Mongolia only two, viz., (1) the zone of sands which stretch for a distance of  $66\frac{2}{3}$  miles along the right bank of the river Koongooya with a breadth of from  $13\frac{1}{3}$  to 20 miles and (2) the Boro-Elisi sands to the south-east of Lake Oobs.

South-eastern Mongolia is characterized, as we have above observed, by

its plain-like features, and yet there is no perfectly level country in it. It is, indeed, made up of a series of low ridges, small mountain groups and detached hills. The central and more deeply depressed zone of south-eastern Mongolia is the Desert of Gobi, which stretches from south-west to north-east for a length of more than 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ rd miles and a breadth of from 200 to 333 $\frac{1}{3}$  miles. The surface of this vast desert is, in places, covered with low rocky ridges, stretching almost in every direction, with a trend bearing from west to east. In the northern portion too of this desert there are occasionally met with barren mountain groups and detached hills that rise up almost uniformly amidst the vast plain country.

In the Mongolian Desert of Gobi there are many small salt lakes, and there are still preserved clear traces also of a former incomparably more abundant supply of fresh water. The sources of this fresh water supply are, however, very few within the limits of this desert as it now exists. Sandy tracts too are rare, and such as exist have no considerable area.

To the south-west of the mountain system of the Southern Altai stretches another and still vaster desert which, in contradistinction to the Mongolian Gobi, bears the name of the Greater Gobi. This is distinguished from the desert first named by being of a somewhat less height and as comprising within its limits vast sandy tracts, of which the Mongolian Desert of Gobi is almost entirely devoid. The greatest length of the Greater Gobi, in a direction bearing east and west from the banks of the river Hooan-He to the banks of the river Yarkand-Daria, is about 1,533 $\frac{1}{3}$  miles. Its greatest breadth between the Southern Altai system and the Nan-Shan range is about 400 miles. Along the western portion of this vast steppe there stretches the mountain chain of the Tian-Shan, which rises up, in many places, beyond the snow-line and which enlivens the dead uniformity of the surrounding waste.

North-west Mongolia, thanks to its mountainous relief, is watered in incomparably greater abundance than is its south-eastern or more level portion. Thus, in the former portion take their rise the copious rivers Yenisei, Irtysh, Selenga and Orkhon, all of which belong to the Oceanic basin, whilst all the other river systems of lofty Mongolia comprise the inner or continental basins. The Upper Yenisei, the volume of which is made up of the united waters of the two large mountain rivers Hooa-Kem and Bei-Kem and which, in its short course of about 120 miles within Mongolian limits, is called the Ooloo-Kem, is navigable by rafts only and even for these is not without danger because of its cataracts and of its swift current. The Selenga, which, as it rises in the Hanhai range, goes by the name of the Eder, becomes navigable only after it has received the waters of its more copious feeder the Orkhon, a stream which rises in the same range. The largest continental river of Mongolia, the Kobdo, flows, for the most part, through mountains and is therefore of a thoroughly mountainous character, so that a swift current, cataracts and swirling pools render this stream altogether unnavigable.

From the western slopes of the Southern Altai system flows the Black Irtysh (Kara-Irtis), which after receiving through its right bank two copious feeders called respectively the Boorchoom and the Kaba, becomes a mighty

river that flows into Lake Zaisan, and is navigable by small vessels. In the same slopes of the Southern Altai system another river of great volume, the Ooroonga, takes its rise and afterwards falls into the vast Ooloongoor lake.

The other and lesser rivers of Mongolia are the Tes, Narin, Dzapkin, Baidarik, Narin-Gol, Too'in-Gol, Tatsa-Gol, Argoo'in-Gol, Ongiin-Gol, but the very long river of North-Eastern Mongolia—the Keroolen—belongs, like the river Kobdo, to the inner basins which principally lose themselves in land-locked salt lakes.

Of the lakes of Mongolia the largest fresh-water lake, the Kosogol or Khoobsogool, lies at a height of about 5,300 feet above sea level. The depth of this vast lake, which has a length of 80 miles and a breadth of  $23\frac{1}{2}$  miles, must be very considerable judging by the relief of the surrounding country, and this surmise is corroborated by native statements. Kosogol is, however, the only large lake in Mongolia which belongs to the Oceanic basin. It is connected by the Egin-Gol river with the Selenga, which flows, as we know, into Lake Baikal, whence it issues forth under the name of the Upper Angaroo or right affluent of the Yenisei river.

After Lake Kosogol the first place in size belongs to the salt lake, Oobs, the circumference of which measures  $133\frac{1}{2}$  miles. This lake is fed by the rivers Tes, Narin, Harkir and by several smaller streams. The barren shores of this lake are for the most part covered with reeds. Almost in the same meridian and to the south lies another inland lake, Kara-Oosoo, into which flows the river Kobdo. This lake is connected by the Chon-Harkir with another salt lake, the Doorga-Nor, the north-western portion of which is called the Kara-Nor, and this lake is, in its turn, connected by the Tatkhenteli channel with the river Dzapkin. The latter river and the Koongoo river together form the fresh-water lake called Airik-Nor, and this is joined by a channel with the large salt lake, Kirgiz-Nor, which lies in the midst of a very barren plain. Lake Ooloongoor, which receives the waters of the Ooroongoor river, belongs to the number of the large inland basins of Mongolia. It has an absolute height of about 1,500 ft. Its water is slightly brackish and it contains large quantities of fish.

In a wide valley between the Hanhai range and the Southern Altai system lies an entire series of more or less considerable lakes, viz., the Tsagan-Nor (brackish) which is fed by the Baidarik river; the Jirgalantoo (fresh-water) which is formed by the river Narin-Gol; the Orok-Nor (brackish) which is fed by the waters of the river Too'in-Gol; the Booir-Tsagan-Nor (brackish) into which flows the river Tatsa-Gol; and, lastly, the Tsigen-Nor (fresh-water) which receives the waters of the river Argoo'in-Gol river, the upper course of which is called the Goridoo'in-Gol. Further to the south-east and close to the northern base of the Southern Altai system lies the very considerable salt-water lake called Olon-Nor, which receives the waters of the river Ongiin-Gol. In the Desert of Gobi there are here and there met with small brackish lakes that furnish deposits of salt encrustations. Finally, in north-eastern Mongolia there is the large salt-water lake called Dalai-Nor or Khoolon, which receives the waters of the river Keroolen. This lake, in the flood season, is also connected by a channel with the river Argoonai.

Besides the Keroolen there flows into Lake Dalai-Nor the river Oorson or the Khooloon. This river takes its rise in Lake Booir, a lake which is formed by the Halka-Gol a stream that issues forth from the range of the Greater Hingan.

The climate of Mongolia is distinguished for its thoroughly continental character, the heat in summer being very great and the cold in winter severe. As the air is extraordinarily dry the quantity of atmospheric moisture is very scanty, but of course in so vast a country the conditions of climate cannot be everywhere the same. Thus, in North-western Mongolia, the surface of which is, for the most part, mountainous, the summer is generally mild and the winter very severe, whilst in the south-eastern portion of the country, which is considerably below sea-level, especially in the case of the Desert of Gobi, the summer is much hotter and the winter a good deal milder.

European *savants* consider that country as the true fatherland of the Mongols which is bounded on the west by the present limits of the Nijni-Udinsk Circle, on the east by Lake Baikal and on the south by the Sayan range. This idea is based chiefly on an examination of those primitive Mongol legends which treat exclusively of this particular country. It was from here that in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. the dispersion of the Mongol peoples first set in. Thus, one portion remained in their native land whilst another, after migrating across the Sayan range, appeared within the limits of Mongolia Proper and occupied tracts of country in the neighbourhood of the Selenga, Orkhon, Tola, Keroolen, Onon and the Amoor. Amongst Chinese historians the name *Mongolians* (Mongoo or Men-Goo) is met with, for the first time, in the 9th century A.D. These people now occupy the same places along the course of the Onon and the Keroolen as they did then, and it is only on the lower course of the Amoor that they were scattered somewhat further than they are found to be at present. According to historians, the Mongol peoples were formerly split up into numerous clans, each of which was under the rule of its own prince. Such clans were constantly waging little wars amongst themselves, but for the more extended raids, on China for example, the several clans would unite under one common experienced leader. The history of the Mongols receives a world-wide importance only from the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when the son of a common headman, Temoochin by name, united under his own rule all the Mongol clans and made of them one undivided power, giving to the whole number the one comprehensive name of "Mongols" and declaring himself their ruler with the title of Chinghiz-Khan. The conquests thus began by Chinghiz-Khan were afterwards continued by his sons. These successors, after subduing, in 1237, the whole of Russia penetrated, in 1240, through Poland into Silesia and thence, after the fight before Walshat on the 9th (21st) April, 1241, made their way into Moravia, and finally after the battle before Olmuts (on the 21st June—3rd July—1241) invaded Hungary. All these countries were then forced to acknowledge Mongol dominion. The rapid and extensive conquests of these nomads are explained not merely by their unusual numbers and by the quality of their fighting power, but also by the weakness and disunion of their opponents,

on the one hand, and, on the other, by their system of warfare by which all the peoples, whom they conquered, were compelled to enrol themselves in their armies of operation and were obliged to go forth to fresh conquests on behalf of their Mongol conquerors. The huge empire, thus founded by the successors of Chinghiz-Khan did not, it is true, last very long, still it may be said that the three first Mongol emperors after Chinghiz-Khan, viz., Ogedei, Gooyuk and Mönkö, retained their power. The most flourishing period of the Mongol Empire relates to the beginning of the second half of the 13th century, but, after this period, viz., towards the close of the 13th century, the sovereign power was divided amongst the numerous subordinate Khans, and so, during the reign of the fifth Emperor of the house of Chinghiz-Khan, Khoobi-Khan, it came to pass that the whole Mongol Empire was split up into numerous independent states. In the year 1368 the Mongols were driven out of China and their Khans once more returned to the steppes of Mongolia and began to rule over purely Mongol tribes alone, whilst, in other countries, their power, even if it continued to exist at all, was in any case only nominal. From this period the life of the Mongols for two entire centuries once more partook of the character of mere petty rival clanships, which waged incessant fights for the possession of the Mongol patrimony. After that again the whole of the Mongol peoples were once more reunited under the rule of a single Khan. In 1543 Dayan-Setsen-Khan, the last of those rulers who had brought under his own sole power the whole of Mongolia, died. This sovereign left nine sons, and amongst these Mongolia was divided. Thus there again set in, in this country, a period of partitions, during which Mongolia became once more subjected to internecine strife, which brought about the complete disunion of the Mongol races. This is the reason why, when the house of Dai-Tsin arose, all the princes of Southern Mongolia voluntarily acknowledged themselves Manchur vassals and why each one of them, on the occasion of collisions occurring with his rivals, sought out a refuge amongst the ascendant Manchur peoples. And so in 1636 the whole of Southern Mongolia, Ordos, Ala-Shan and Kookoo-Nor came under the power of the Manchurs. Northern Mongolia or Khalkha, however, remained independent, but the four principal rulers of this country, when they were not fighting amongst themselves, were constantly expending their strength in a struggle with the Oirat clans of Choongaria. Towards the close of the year 1670 the whole of these clans were united under the extraordinarily enterprising and ambitious Haldan-Boshoktoo-Khan, who, after a series of raids on Khalkha, carried out between 1688 and 1696, so pressed the rulers of that country that they too all sought protection from them at the hands of the Manchurs and at length acknowledged their dominion over themselves. The Manchurs, indeed, had, by this time, become the dominant power in China. Thus the whole of Mongolia now acknowledged the dominion of the Manchur dynasty.

Although they had lost their independence the Mongol princes at first continued their internecine and bloody struggles and so caused the Manchurs not a little disquiet. Accordingly it took an entire century for the skilful policy of the Manchur Court to completely put down the Mongol



power. By means of a gradual subdivision of the Mongol principalities and by increasing the number of cantons in Mongolia the Manchurs at length completely effaced the power of the Mongol princes. By aiding emigration and by encouraging them to settle elsewhere the Manchurs separated one hostile Mongol clan from another, and by furthering the spread of Buddhism amongst the Mongol races they taught them to seek out ideals not in military triumphs but in thoughts regarding a life of good deeds and the future state.

As the result of this line of policy, Manchur influence over the Mongols has been such that now, after the lapse of more than a century, the latter have been converted into thoroughly peaceful nomads. Their life now passes quietly, their manners are soft, offences amongst them are rare, of savage acts of the strong against the weak scarcely anything is heard, whilst murders are quite an unusual occurrence; foreigners, too, can peaceably travel throughout the country and find for themselves very convenient places of sojourn in the Buddhist monasteries which constitute the principal cultured and settled places of the country. Still it must be admitted that culture amongst the Mongols is very inconsiderable. According to the testimony of later travellers, modern Mongol thought is occupied exclusively with religious questions. The national literature of the people is giving way, to a considerable extent, to translated works. Mongol libraries chiefly consist of Tibetan books of a spiritual character, and even Tibetan learning is considerably more developed throughout Mongolia than is the national. The desire to study their native history, their own people and their own country is scarcely perceptible whilst the entire intellectual energy of the Mongols is given to the elucidation of philanthropical questions concerning morals and religion. Thanks to this taste for a religious mode of life, there have now been preserved among the Mongols but dim recollections of their former subdivision into rival clanships, and modern Mongols know only of their present administrative divisions. To the question "What is your branch?" a Mongol will now answer by the one generic name "Khalkha, or Khorchin or Keshikten," whilst he will have no knowledge of the more detailed tribal divisions or of the names of his ancestors or of the legends concerning them.

In the face of such a state of things to scientific explorers of Mongolia it appears a very difficult matter to exactly define the question respecting the reciprocal origin of the people of this country, but, speaking generally, it may be affirmed that the great mass of the inhabitants of Mongolia was, at a given time, people possessed of the Mongol language. Nevertheless it cannot be guaranteed that the whole of the present inhabitants of Mongolia come of a pure Mongol stock. Thus we find that (a) the whole of the northern border of the Kobdo Circle is inhabited by Choongars\* of the Döörbet clan; (b) that in the Sain-Noin *aimak* (manor) there are two principalities of the Choros clan of Choongars; (c) that in Southern Mongolia

\* Choongar clans derive their name from that of the first nomads in Choongaria. Amongst the Mongols these clans are grouped together under the name of *Oirat*: amongst the Chinese under the name of *Ölöt*s, whence, perhaps, may be found the Chinese origin of the word "Oirat." Russians call the same clans "Kalmaks."

there are two principalities of the Khalkha clan of Choongars, and that at Khalkha there are settlements of the Chakhar clan of Choongars.

All this mixing up of Mongol peoples is the necessary result of those migrations which the Manchurs compelled the Mongols to make. As we are aware that it would not be possible, in our present brief sketch, to give any precise details concerning the minor subdivisions of the population of Mongolia into clans, we will here confine ourselves to indicating the tribal divisions of these people:

A.

The first and principal portion of the population is the Mongol tribe which comprises:

(a) The Mongols proper who inhabit the whole of Khalkha and also Southern Mongolia and Ordos.

(b) The Ooryanhai, who nomadise on the Altai mountains from the highlands of the river Kobdo to the highlands of the river Boolgoon.

(c) The Oirat clans, which include the Doorbets who dwell on the frontier of the Kobdo Circle, in the neighbourhood of Lake Oobs; the Torgouts, who roam over the Kobdo Circle, in the valley of the rivers Chingil and Boolgoon, and also about Lake Kookoo-Nor, and the Hoiti, part of whom inhabit the Kobdo Circle, dwelling amongst the Doorbets, and part the country around Lake Kookoo-Nor.

(d) The Bait clans, who live in the Kobdo Circle, to the east of the Doorbet settlements on the Tookhtoogen-Noor range.

(e) The Darkhat clans, who occupy the valley of the Shishkit river in the Kobdo Circle and the sources of the Yenisei river.

B.

The Turkish race of which there are in Mongolia the following representatives:

(a) The Kirgiz, who nomadise over the highlands of the river Kobdo in the circle of the same name.

(b) The Ooryanhai, whose wanderings are confined to the narrow zone between the highlands of the river Kobdo on the west to Lake Kosogol on the east.

(c) The Kotons, who nomadise near Lake Oobsa.

(d) Certain sections of the Toorfan Turks, who have been driven out by the Chinese into the Kookoo-Nor district, on the frontiers of Han-Soo.

C.

Chinese who are to be met with in all parts of Mongolia, but who live there chiefly for purposes of trade. Such persons, therefore, appear principally as small traders who move about with their goods from one place to another. The settled Chinese live only in the towns of Mongolia and there only in certain places to which they have been sent by the Bogdo-Khan\* for the purpose of clearing arable lands.

D.

The Tangoot clans who live in the south-eastern portions of the province of Kookoo-Nor.

\* An official title of the Chinese Emperor.

The chief and indeed almost the sole occupation of all the nomads of Mongolia consists in cattle-rearing in contradistinction to the pursuits of the Chinese settlers who, as we have remarked above, are chiefly occupied in trade and agriculture. The Chinese, as we have seen, are only met with in comparatively small communities in certain localities of Mongolia being especially firmly established in the natural boundaries of Sookhotoo, Kara-Oosoo, Min-Hai, Tsagan-Her and Khoorgihoo, all of which lie on the rivers Orkhon and Tola. Further westward agriculture is carried on in several places on the river Tszaphinoo, viz., at Tsagan-Sul (to the south-west of Lake Kara-Nor) at Oolan-Kom, on the river Kobdo, and on the rivers Boolgoon and Baidarik and other places. The most southerly portion of Mongolia, that adjoining the Great Wall, now presents an almost unbroken zone of agriculture, for both Chinese and Mongols are here engaged in agricultural pursuits. With the development of agriculture the Mongols, finding themselves no longer able to continue their former nomad life or to follow after their flocks and herds, have had to eke out their means of livelihood and to take to other industries. Thus the clans of the Kookoo-Hoto Toomets are engaged in mule-breeding and now the best mules in the whole of China are bred by the Toomets. In other localities Mongols are engaged in extracting salt. Then again those of them who were at the time nomadic have now taken to transporting Chinese goods to various parts of Mongolia and to cattle-rearing. As carriers too of merchandise the Mongols now receive not a little gain from Russian traders on whose behalf they convey tea from China towards European Russia over the tract of country between Kalgan and Kiakhta.

## SHAN AND SIAM

(A REPLY AND DISCUSSION).

BY E. H. PARKER.

CAPTAIN GERINI has contributed in the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* much valuable information towards elucidating various knotty points connected with Shan and Siamese history. The most original and trustworthy of his lights is perhaps the paragraph upon Phya<sup>\*</sup>Tak Sin and Chao Phya Chakkri. If, as he says, or seems to say, the former reigned from 1767 to 1782, and was succeeded by his protector, the latter, who reigned from 1782 to 1809, then (1) the Chinaman Kam En-tek who according to Manchu history was reported in 1768 to have usurped the throne, and to have still occupied it in 1769; (2) the P'i-ya Sin, who was at war with Burma in 1771-2, and also on friendly terms with China; and (3) the Chêng Chao who applied to China for investiture in 1772—these three must all be one and the same person.

In 1782, the Chinese say, Chêng Chao died, and was succeeded by his son Chêng Hwa. The dates thus agree. But how comes it that Captain Gerini, who had already described Chao Phya Chakkri as being an old man in 1734, makes him the successor of his own foster-son in 1782? Probably there is some misprint, for, on page 159, Captain Gerini has already warned us not to confuse Phya Chakkri the Minister with Phya Catatari the Founder. In any case further explanation is necessary before this point can be considered settled.

As to what Captain Gerini styles the question of "paramount importance,"—the identity of the words Siam and Shan,—the difficulty he raises is partly one of mere speech. I am not particular in saying that either word is "derived from" the other. What I do say is that there is only one word, and one meaning, which has taken two forms in English, with two meanings. The following is what I take to be the explanation of the question, from a European point of view. Missionaries got a foothold in Pegu and Annam before they did in Siam. Father Advarte landed in Annam in 1596, and the first church was built in 1615. In 1613 the King of Ava carried off a community of Portuguese Christians already established in Pegu. It was only in 1616 that Father Ferdinand obtained permission to stay in Siam. Thus Annam and Burma both got the start, and both would speak of Siam before the missionaries could discover what the Siamese called themselves, *i.e.* Muang T'ai. The Annamese seem to have only one possible word for Siam, which is Nuoc Xiem, or "Shiem Country." The Burmese call both Shans and Siamese by the name (as it always sounded to my ears in Burma) *Shang*; and, as Captain Gerini says, Judson gives two written forms, *hsyam* and *hram*, in Burmese character. When in Burma, I never came across anyone who used the first of the two forms, and I see that Chase's *Manual* also (pp. 141, 206) always uses

*hram*. But there is no need to obscure or complicate the matter by entering into discussions about the clumsy Burmese alphabetical expedients, which are at best capricious makeshifts, and which have no more significance than the fact that the modern Greeks, for want of the hard letter B, write *Mpell* for the English word *Bell*. The essential point is that the Burmans and Annamese have words "Sham" and "Shiem," by which they designate the Shans and Siamese. In the north, where there are other Shans, the Sham Yodayā are simply called "Yodayā." In the south, where the Siamese are the only Shans, they are simply called Sham, and their country Sham-pyi, or "Shan country." I noticed both these facts on the spot myself, *i.e.* at Bhamo and at Renong. My stay in Burma only extended over a year, and I have no pretensions to either Burmese or Shan philological knowledge. These are merely the results of my own careful inquiry and observation in a new field, and I am therefore quite open to correction as to my statements of fact being of wide application. I found the Kachins used the word *Sam* for Shans, and I have shown that the oldest Chinese word we can positively refer to the modern Siamese is *Siem* or *Siam*, which is used by Chinese to this day. The character the Chinese use is not an old one, and has no use in current literature. Its meaning of "sunrise" may possibly have something to do with its choice, but vague guesses are of no value.

It is on this simple issue that I say "Shan and Siam are the same word and the same thing." Captain Gerini in nearly all essential points agrees with me. He adds (page 149) the testimony of similar words used by the Talaings (*Sem*), Assamese (*Sam*), Malays (*Siam*), Khmers (*Siem*). He goes farther on page 155, and says: "It is therefore merely an obvious truism, and no novel discovery whatever, to assert that the present Siamese and Shans are identical, since Shan means Siamese, and nothing else."

Captain Gerini's contentious point, however, appears to be this. Ptolemy mentioned a city or district of Samaradê, which Captain Gerini identifies with "Sama-ratthe or Syamarastra, *i.e.* Siam proper." He thinks that, when the Shans descended upon the modern Siam, they simply adopted the ancient local name they found already existing there. That, at least, is how I understand his contention; and even if he proves it, I do not see that it touches the root of the matter. My mind is thus quite open, and I have never announced a "discovery," but merely stated a "truism." But I hardly yet see my way to accept Captain Gerini's conclusion that I am in serious error.

Even supposing that the existence and locality of Samaradê were firmly established, as also its identity with Sama-ratthe; and that the existence and locality of Syamarastra were shown to be the same as those of modern Siam; are we to suppose that wild Kachins, Chinese, Annamese, Khmers, Burmese, etc., would all accommodate themselves to the humour of a rival race, and accede to the Siamese desire to be called after and form a link with the ancient Syamarastra? Moreover, Captain Gerini says he has no certain knowledge of the date of the palm-leaf books in which he found mention of Syamarastra; and, whilst he states on page 148 that this place is Siam proper, he says on page 149 that it is Siemrab on the Cambodjjan.

frontier. I go further, and say that, even supposing the Siamese identified themselves with and assimilated the ancient word they found awaiting their arrival, it is a matter of no real significance. Captain Gerini has already admitted that "Shans and Siamese are identical ; that Shan means Siamese and nothing else." This is really all I contend for.

I myself possess some of Aymonier's Tchame inscriptions, but apparently not the ones alluded to on page 146 of Captain Gerini's article. The Syām people mentioned therein (eleventh century) may surely just as well be Shans as Siamese ? I mean that, assuming the truth of all the premisses stated by Captain Gerini, it is as reasonable to suppose that the known and ethnical word Sham (used by Annamese, Burmese, Chinese, Khmers, etc.) was meant, as it is to suppose that reference was made to a semi-mythical Syamarasra, retrospectively adopted by certain Sham or Shans.

Then, as to the *Pukam Syam* captives of the Ciampa pillar (eleventh century):—undoubtedly, as Captain Gerini suggests, Pukam is Pagan ; and in fact the Chinese history of the Sung dynasty records plainly that "in A.D. 1106 the King of Pukam sent tribute, and is of such a rank that correspondence with him must be conducted on the same distinguished scale as with such potentates as the Caliph of Bagdad and the King of Annam." Moreover, the native commentator adds to this citation repeated in the Momein Annals:—"Pukan is the Burma of to-day." But this *Syam* also, on the premisses stated by Captain Gerini, has just as much right to be construed ethnically Sham, as it has to refer to the semi-mythical Syamarasra. Why go afiel for artificial Siamese when we have genuine Shans on the spot ? Moreover at that date the modern Siamese had surely not yet reached the Menam Valley ? If they had not, then they could not yet have found the ghost of Syamarasra there.

Captain Gerini (page 155) wishes to know what is the combination of Chinese characters I transliterate "Magadha." Then, assuming that the combination is *ch'ieh-lo*, he proceeds to prove on that basis that the Nan-chao boundary was not India but Burma. My answer is that the combination in question is *Mo-k'a-lo*, and that there has never been the faintest doubt that Ma-gha-dha is the sound intended. Moreover, the Chinese repeatedly tell us that Magadha was India, or Central India. In this and two other cases Captain Gerini quotes Ma Twan-lin, who is not an original authority, but only a compiler. The original authorities are the 24 dynastic histories, all of which of course I have before me. I do not know what *ch'ieh-lo* means : the only word like it in Chinese history is *ch'ie-lo* or *k'ia-to*, which means *gāthā*, or "hymns." Possibly the fact that *Mo-kieh-lo* (or *Ma-ghiat-da*) is sometimes alternatively used by the Chinese may account for the confusion.

The Chinese are perfectly consistent in lineally connecting the kingdom of the P'iao (roughly A.D. 1 to A.D. 1000) with the later Pu-kam (Pagan) and Mien (Byam-ma, or Burma). To this day the Karenns call the Burmese Pyaw, and there can be no question that the Byu of Captain Forbes' researches are the P'iao of the Chinese. Captain Gerini now goes off into so many other side issues of a very learned character not raised at all by me that I can only deal with them here very summarily.

1. It is out of the question to identify Piao-kwo, or "Byu country," with the word Pago or Pegu; to identify *ch'ieh-l'o* with *chu-po*, or *chu-po* with *she-p'o*. The Chinese say *Pai-ku* when they wish to say Pegu. *She-p'o* is Java. The *Chu-po* were the "later P'iao, having Chên-lah (Senrap) to the east of them. Chên-lah, *alias* Kih-mieh (Khmer) was anciently Fu-nam, and on the sea, south of the P'iao." The Chinese statements are thus positive, the mean or average discrepancies in point of compass direction simply placing Burma, correctly, north-west of Siam. As Captain Gerini says: "Giving correct bearings is by no means a Chinese *forte*."

2. The Chinese record that Ai-lao originally referred etymologically to Lao Mountain. I must reject *in toto* as irrelevant, both in principle and in detail, the whole of the philological discussion upon pages 151-4. M. de la Couperie used to deluge the world with volumes of this kind of reasoning.

3. As to the Prakeo inscription, I have it before me, and also Mr. Schmitt's letter sending it to M. Pavie, saying: "toute l'inscription est siamoise avec caractères sanskrits." I must confess that it does not *look* like Sanscrit, but I have no right to sit in judgment on Mr. Schmitt. Perhaps he was "extending" the use of the word Sanskrit, as Captain Gerini does the word Siam.

4. I am a little suspicious about modern Tha-mee-hla, but should be glad to see my way to identify that place with the Tanmeiliu of 1,000 years ago.

5. Captain Gerini's correct statement (pp. 157-8) of Siamese royal names I accept with gratitude. Of course the Chinese, as myself, must do the best we can with foreign materials of which we know nothing. The royal names may be sacred in Siam, but the Emperor of China always insists on having them. Probably it was in order to adjust this irreconcilable difficulty that the earlier Phya Sin (as the Chinese call him) later adopted the Chinese name Chêng Chao. *Hai-hong* for *T'ai-hong* (p. 158) is no mistake; it is very common, in both Kwang Tung and Fu Kien dialects, for the aspirated *t* to be pronounced as *h*.

6. The "exhilarating statement" about the rajah of Renong is nevertheless quite true. His dynastic tombs I myself visited; the walled palace I myself sojourned in; the royal commissioners (p. 162) were being appointed whilst I was there; but up to then the Chinese rajahs had been practically a hereditary dynasty.

7. I do not, as he fears, regard Captain Gerini as a "ferocious Aristarch," and feel rather flattered to regard myself for the nonce as his correlative Homer. I shall be delighted to translate the Chinese records as he suggests if I can find a gratuitous printer. I have had the "Turks" ready for the printer for many years, but in spite of appeals no one will come forward as a dumping receptacle for my materials. As I have said, there is so much "fine confused feeding" of an abstruse nature in Captain Gerini's paper that I cannot possibly absorb and deal with it all off hand. My own paper, which he criticises so ably, deals with only a few simple issues, and I feel pretty certain that it is not far wrong. To make quite sure, however, I here restate the whole position concisely:—

The Siamese are Shans slightly mixed. The word Shan and the word Siam are one and the same word, with unbroken lineage. The Chinese and Annamese first called them Ai-lao; but, when the modern Siamese are first heard of in true history, both the Chinese and the Annamese call them (and still do) Shiem, or Siam. The Burmese, Khmers, Kachins, Assamese, etc., all use for this race words closely approximating to the sound Sham. Even the Karenns, by the way, call them *thaing* (*th* as in English *thin*).

Fanam and Chênlah are the only countries in the Siamese Gulf mentioned by China till A.D. 600. Then they had a very short intercourse with a so-called Red Earth Country. In the 12th century Siem and Lo-huk are first heard of by official China, and they are then identified with the old Red Earth Country. We have full Chinese accounts of all these three countries; but from first to last not the faintest hint of Syamarastra. I am strongly inclined to believe that the Syamarastra business, now raised by Captain Gerini, is all a myth; and in any case I do not see how it seriously touches the Shan-Siam question, in which he grants absolutely all I contend for. However, I should like to see the arguments marshalled concisely in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

The Chinese texts appears to me to be consistent throughout. First the Chupo, then the P'iao, then Pagan, then Mien; these, they say, are the Burmese. I cannot enter into remote questions connecting the Shan and Chinese languages, or into anything which goes behind clear texts. Dr. Edkins is *facile princeps* in this field. My texts are the Chinese, and (with due allowance for manifest discrepancies) I find them faithful in all subjects. Whenever I see definite Burmese, Siamese, Annamese, and other non-Chinese texts quoted, and such texts are approved by competent authority, I find that the Chinese texts rarely if ever run counter to them. So far as Captain Gerini cites definite texts, I find nothing in them which runs counter to my Chinese texts. In fact, his texts and my texts throw mutual light upon each other. So long as we avoid remote issues, we may hope, with our respective materials, to thrash out more net facts. But let us avoid misty matters of opinion based upon myths and tradition. Let us not go one inch beyond our approved authorities, correcting or supplementing those authorities when we safely can.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Friday, March 18, 1898; Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., in the chair. Among those present were: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., Sir George Birdwood, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir George Campbell, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. E. Garnet Man, Khawja Muhammad Said Hakim, Mr. C. L. Tupper, C.S.I., Mr. P. P. Pillai, Mr. A. Rogers, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir John Leng, M.P., Mr. H. S. Agarwala, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Arathoon, Mr. A. K. Conell, Mr. H. F. Luttrell, M.P., Mr. H. W. Woolff, Mr. A. Keyser, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. M. H. Nazar, Mr. H. B. Singh, and Mr. R. K. Khan.

The CHAIRMAN in introducing Sir William Wedderburn said that his name was so familiar to everyone interested in India, especially in connection with the topic he had selected for discussion, that introduction was quite unnecessary. He (the Chairman) ought to apologise for the position he occupied, for he was there more to learn than any other purpose. The subject, no doubt, had long been one of interest to him, and one on which, 25 years ago, he wrote a pamphlet. In that respect Sir W. Wedderburn (one of his oldest Indian friends) and he had been working along parallel lines, never meeting, but having in view that which was dear to everyone present: the benefit of the inhabitants of India.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN then read a paper entitled "*Agricultural Banks for India—Practical Experiments Wanted*" (which will be found elsewhere in this *Review*).

Mr. MAN said that he took a great interest in the work many years ago when sent down as Asst. Commissioner into the Sonthal district, after the rebellion of the Sonthals. The more he saw of the people the more he respected them. The whole of that rebellion was caused by the grasping money-lenders, who had them in their power. The Sonthals were a jovial race; they were uncommonly truthful; good in their domestic relations; he never saw a nicer set to rule over. Afterwards, when at the Bar and Bench, he further saw the curse that the money-lenders had been to the Government and people of India. To the Government it was detrimental, because the ignorant natives thought that, when the money-lenders came to the Courts, and were enabled by the decision of the officials to attach their property and take their grain, it was the Government which was at the bottom of the whole thing. If they had a proper system of money-lending which would sweep away the leeches, fewer regiments would be necessary in India, and contentment would reign. Those in this country who ruled India did not know as much as those who had been there 30 or 40 years. To get a practical solution of the question was to work with men like Sir A. Mackenzie, and get him to pass an Act through the Legislative Council of India. They did not want a scheme by which the

Revenue officers would be loaded with fresh work; civilians had already twice as much work as they could get through. A new department must be raised for the purpose; and it would pay itself out of the interest received from the advances. The move should come from India. If the Government here liked to put a veto on an Act proposed in the Legislative Council, it would be on their own responsibility. Let Sir A. Mackenzie, as Governor of Bengal, carry it through, and it would be found so beneficial that it would be adopted all over India. 12 and 18 p.c. had been spoken of as the interest received by money-lenders, but the very lowest in his experience was 18, and he had seen it more often 40 and 50 p.c. No man who had got into a money-lender's clutches ever got out; he was a pauper to his grave, and after that his property was plundered. So many of the people were ignorant of reading or writing that a money-lender got them to sign anything he liked, and then when the peasant came to the Court and the Court had to find against him he went away blaming the Government.

SIR L. GRIFFIN was unwilling to remain altogether a silent listener, and not to add a word in sympathy with the scheme which had been so eloquently put before them by Sir William Wedderburn. He had recently been reading the report of a meeting held in 1883 in the Exeter Town Hall under the auspices of their Association, and he thought that of all the questions which could be put before an audience who were interested in Indian subjects there was not one so vital to the future prosperity of India, if accepted in some way, and with such modifications as were found to be necessary, as the scheme which Sir William Wedderburn had for so many years put before the public. There was not a word in the paper with which he was not in full agreement, and he thought that a large number of the members of the Association were of the same opinion. A very touching speech had been made by Mr. John Bright at the meeting to which he had alluded, in 1883. They all knew how devoted was Mr. Bright to the welfare of India, and although there were a great many people in these days who had an almost frenzied opposition to Mr. Bright's general political views, yet there was no one who was accepted as a more honest exponent of British good-feeling towards India. He thought that that speech of Mr. Bright might, by the Association, be reprinted with the proceedings of the meeting, because that voice, although it had been long silent in the tomb, was still a power with the English people. He (the speaker) had always been much attracted by this question. Nearly 30 years ago he drew up a scheme for agricultural banks in the Punjab. He had put it before the Punjab Government when he was a magistrate in one of its districts. That scheme was not of so practical a nature as that now suggested. It did not involve the raising of private moneys to start banks; but it was more a development of a scheme which had been worked for a great many years in India. Since Mr. Bright spoke, and since Sir W. Wedderburn took up the question, it could not be believed that the state of India made it less necessary, now than it was then, that such a system as was proposed should have a fair trial. Although the external trade of India was largely increased, the increase of the population and numerous causes, such as the

terrible famine through which India had just passed, had made the population still more impecunious than ever, and still more in need of the help which was suggested by that paper. The time had now come when the Government would be compelled to apply some remedy to what was really the worst calamity which affected India. He sympathized, but he did not altogether agree with, the last speaker upon the subject of money-lenders. They, as India existed to-day, were as necessary as the sun or air. The cultivator could not exist without. The money-lender who had a lien on the cattle, the plough—who supplied the seed grain—advanced the money for weddings, for every domestic incident of the cultivator's life. Without the money-lender the village would come to an end. One of the best parts of Sir W. Wedderburn's scheme was that it was not in opposition to the money-lender, but that by an ingenious way of drawing him into it, and deriving his benefit out of it, he would be for the bank and not against it; and that was an important point. He (Sir L. Griffin) was the Director of the Imperial-State Bank of Persia, which had a great many relations in the East. In one large province they had tried on a considerable scale the experiment of large advances to agriculturists; it failed, only because the condition which existed in India did not exist there. They had in that province a weak Government which the governors did not obey, and where every person was ready to sell justice for a bribe. In India, even if the last sentence could not be altogether excepted as non-existent (because he had no doubt that among the subordinates there was a good deal of bribery in India as in Persia), yet the force of the Government was such that the simple process of the recovery of advances through the Revenue Court would make it perfectly easy for such a bank to work without loss. Without wishing to say anything about the India Office, with which he had long been connected, he thought that in all the history of obstruction and incompetence there was no such monument as the long refusal to adopt a beneficent scheme experimentally which had been pressed on them by the Governors and by the financial authorities; authorities as high and distinguished as any that the India Office could call to their aid. While he still thought that they should welcome with all courtesy and cordiality the words, which were at present no more than words, of Lord George Hamilton, who had expressed his hope that some scheme might be put before Parliament for the formation of agricultural banks in India, if such a scheme were brought forward it would undoubtedly be on the lines of the measure which Sir W. Wedderburn had always advocated, and if the result should end in success, it would be to him chiefly that honour would be due.

Mr. H. WOOLFF came with pleasure to support Sir W. Wedderburn. He did not know much about India, but having seen many agricultural banks he thought there was so much force in Sir W. Wedderburn's plea that the experiment should be made; in support he desired to state one or two points which he had learned from experience. A committee was lately formed at Toynbee Hall, of which he was a member, for the purpose of projecting agricultural banks, and when he was asked to draw up a prospectus to elicit support, some of the more practical men among them said

that it would be best if they first tried experiments, and set up two or three banks to see how they worked. There were already one or two, but they were not known to the general public. At the time Sir W. Wedderburn first took up the cause there were abroad banks of the same kind, which were now flourishing. At first it was said that they were impossible, and a friend of his who started them in Italy said that he bore in mind the words of Carlyle to the effect that whatever was great was impossible until it had been accomplished, and realizing the truth of that he set to work. Italy had now about 300 of such banks, and Germany had about 11,000. He would not say that they were all good, but a great number were very good; they had stamped out usury, and in districts which suffered from the great drought of 1893 they had helped more than anything else. He found, like Sir W. Wedderburn, that whenever he approached someone who really knew something about India he had fallen in with the idea. Friends of his in the West Indies hoped to try them. They wanted to settle the people on the land, and they wanted credit to carry it out. Friends of his in British Columbia had just ordered 100 copies of his rules for village banks. Two and a half years ago a congress of banks was held at Bologna, where he explained the matter to Mr. Bailey, who said it was an admirable scheme, and they should rejoice to see it formed. Sir Arthur Cotton said it was just the thing they wanted in India. He could prophesy that they would succeed and would multiply the receipts manyfold. General Booth wanted to try the scheme in India, having men who had great experience in the Salvation Army out there who entirely fell in with it. Such banks in the first place stamped out usury. He had given such evidence a few days ago before the Committee of the Houses of Parliament. The usurers would have to go. The agriculturists would be encouraged to go into banks where everything was done in the open daylight. A greater enemy to usury could not be found than agricultural banks. The need of a usurer was either brought about by improvidence, or else it was that the people really wanted the money. If it were improvidence, then the bank would make inquiries, and it might be they would not supply the money, and that would take away the man's business. He was told that in India a man who married a child was in the habit of giving a big "blow-out." If he went to the bank for such a purpose as that he would not get the money. On the other hand, there was a great want of money for agricultural purposes. The difficulty was that, if the Government found the money, as it was suggested it should, how was it to get that money back, and how was it to make sure that the money was properly lent and would be repaid? But the people of his district could watch the man who wanted it; they could say his case was a good one, or they could refuse the money; they could see that he repaid it. Sir W. Wedderburn rightly objected to the exception that was taken in high quarters to his scheme that the Government would have to excuse repayment. He never heard of such a case. The borrowers paid gladly because they knew well that they would have to come again to borrow. He always argued against making subsidies; but this was an exceptional case. They must take the money from somewhere. They had a large field to work in.

If agricultural banks were firmly established abroad they would be institutions from which the money could be drawn. It was not only the Government, but the landlord and tax collector who collected the money in the most inconvenient way, because they went when the harvest was ready, and said, "Give me your money," just when the man had no money to pay. It was not like taking the tenth sheaf, but it was asking the supposed value of that sheaf, and if he could not pay sequestering his crops, and thus the man was driven to go to the money-lender. Beyond giving the money he thought that the Government ought to see that these banks were properly organized. The principle had succeeded of a certain number of people joining their liabilities and capitals together. They would accumulate capital in the course of time. A society of that kind could receive and disburse the money among its members. No money had been better laid out than money handled by the agricultural banks abroad. In conclusion, he reminded them of Mr. Gladstone's words: "We have a right to be in India so long as we do our best by the native population; when we cease to do that we ought to go out." He hoped that the work Sir W. Wedderburn had taken in hand would be crowned by success, and that they would shortly have agricultural banks in India.

Mr. C. L. TUPPER said that the particular point that generally struck him with regard to the question was that there was a strong probability that the same remedies would hardly meet the case in different parts of the country. There was one point on which he hoped Sir William Wedderburn would give them some further information, and that was as to the precise relation of the proposed banks to the State. He did not clearly understand how far they were State banks. In the Punjab, which he knew, he had always been reluctant to advocate the cause of State banks, and the objections he entertained to those banks would not apply if, as Sir Lepel Griffin had explained, no harm was done by the scheme to the general class of the Bunias. They had not the necessary establishment for working the system of State banks, and if they organized the establishment it would very shortly come to be bound by red tape, and would not be sufficiently alive to the interests of agriculture. He felt that the question of indebtedness was one that called for strong action on the part of the Government, and that that action should be both administrative and legal. As regards the administrative action they had to act under two Acts. They could make advances for agricultural improvements, and for relief of agricultural distress, and the advantage of an Act of that description was that it did no injury to the Bunia class as such, but it only stepped in when the money market was tight, and at the point when the Bunia was tempted by his need of gain to put the screw tightest on the agriculturist. He thought there should be a judicious extension of that Act. During the recent famine the Act was worked very extensively, much discretion was vested in the local officers who were put in sufficient funds, and who selected in each district leaders among agriculturists whom they got to take the advances and distribute them. With regard to legislative action he had had the honour of laying his views before the Association, and he would merely remark that the great modern principle upon which legislation was

based was the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It had been most sagaciously observed that that presupposed the principle of equality ; that a man could count one, and no more than one. The principle of equality was exactly the very principle inapplicable to the case of the Bunias, and for that reason it followed that when you came to apply the greatest happiness principle in the East you must correct the view as to the application, and correct the hypothetical declaration of political economy by the theory of social progress which had been formed in their own day. They must consider the different stages of social growth, and readjust methods and maxims according to the state of growth they found in the Empire out there. For those reasons he thought the question must be dealt with differently in the different parts of the Indian Empire.

SIR ROLAND WILSON felt very strongly the *prima facie* presumption of rising in a meeting of that kind where an appeal was made that only such persons as were particularly acquainted with India were entitled to speak on such a subject. But, as Sir W. Wedderburn's experience had shown, they had to reckon with some six millions of people who were not practically acquainted with India ; they had to reckon with the British electors, who might be very ignorant or prejudiced, but he ventured to rise to represent the British electors, and his chief desire was for information, because from what he had heard from experts that afternoon and read elsewhere he was not entirely convinced. The India Office represented India in one sense, and the British elector in another sense. Another gentleman had spoken of pushing the measure through the Indian Legislature, but as he understood that measure would have to come back to the India Office, and if it were not approved by public opinion in England, it would be disallowed. Therefore they came back to the possibly very stupid and prejudiced person who would be disposed to say : We, from our training and experience of English politics, have a rooted and decided objection to experimental legislation. The main burden of the lecturer's speech, and of the speeches of some who followed, was that experiments cannot do harm—try them. The lecturer very plausibly referred to the old story of the fish and the bowl. That was a very harmless and reasonable experiment, but supposing the experiment had been of cutting up an elderly gentleman and putting him in a cauldron and then seeing if he could be brought out young, he thought the experimental method would strike them rather differently. What they had to remember was they were dealing with a very delicate method, and once they had entered upon it it would not be easy to withdraw from it. They had vested interests to contend with, and foolish and blind natives. Although they might employ private enterprise, still the scheme was that the Government should take part in the business of money-lending in India. He thought it should not be treated as an experiment. The fundamental objection was that the ordinary business of money-lending would be interfered with and that might aggravate the evil they sought to lessen. Upon the general principle that if two labourers went after one employer wages went down ; if two employers went after one man wages went up, might it not be said that if there were two peasants after one money-lender the rate of interest would go up, and vice-versâ ?

And was there not considerable danger in introducing a new money-lender guaranteed by the Government, in that it would exclude a large part, if not all, of the present competing money-lenders? He understood that it was proposed that the enforcement of repayments was to be left to the Revenue Authorities; if that were satisfactory there, why should it not be extended, and our Civil Courts done away with? The answer was that the Civil Court officer was the guarantee for justice between man and man. Any money the Government could afford to pay would go much further in supplying cheap justice through the Civil Courts to the peasants.

Mr. P. P. PILLAI wanted to take immediate steps to establish Agricultural Banks so far as the Madras Presidency was concerned. Eight years ago on behalf of the Madras landlords a petition was presented praying that assistance like that given to other states, such as Scinde and Oude, should be given to them. There was a promise to relieve the encumbered estates, but that had failed up to the present time, and in consequence the serious attention of the Madras Landowners' Association had been turned towards starting a bank upon their own resources, and quite independently of the help of the Government in an administrative way, though they might require the help of the Government in a legislative way. Already the people were ready to start a bank of their own on the joint stock system, and all they wanted was for a start to be given by the Government, which was favourably situated to give them quasi-official help in various ways, and especially in regard to the Encumbered Estates Act. The debtor must be debarred from incurring any further liability, and his estate must come under the management of the bank. It was proposed to have a Committee of Supervision and Control, and the management of that Committee would be under the supervision of the Government. They must have a guarantee for security, and he hoped the Government would help them in that way. He was on the eve of departure for Madras, and he thought the work could soon be started with great success. They had suffered from a serious grievance; agriculture was coming to a collapse. Thirty years before Sir Thomas Munroe had said that the indebtedness of the zemindaries was the result of the unpopularity of the Government. The Government was not in sympathy with the large landowners, and they were told the Government did not mind the breaking up of their large estates. Mr. Nicholson had said that small properties could not be easily assisted by banks except through State aid. In Russia the Government helped small proprietors through the village communes; unfortunately in India village communes had been destroyed through various legislation, and therefore any system of that sort would be unworkable.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, in reply, desired to point out with reference to what Mr. Tupper had said—that a different arrangement was likely to be successful in different provinces; he had never tried to lay down any cut and dried scheme. As he happened to have stayed in the Poonah district, he was acquainted with the people there, and a scheme had been formulated that it was thought would be successful in that district. Everybody agreed that it was better not to have a Government bank, but to raise money by debentures, and make a private bank. The legislative

assistance asked from the Government was with a view to the settlement of old debts, because, where the whole community was in almost hopeless indebtedness, to advance further money was like putting stones into a quicksand—the advance would be swallowed up. That part of the scheme might not be suitable to other parts of the country, and therefore his proposition was that suitable places should be selected in the different provinces in which responsible persons should undertake to make experiments. In that way they would get real experience in order to develop the scheme. Mr. Nicholson, in his report, referred to experiments made in native states, in Mysore, Baroda, and elsewhere. He (the speaker) thought that native states would be particularly good places for making such experiments, for they were less tied by formal regulations, and with the goodwill of the chief and his ministry very satisfactory arrangements might be worked out.

The CHAIRMAN was sure they owed Sir W. Wedderburn their highest thanks for bringing the subject before them at what was a very opportune moment. Public opinion in England was now so keenly alive to the interest they had in India, and to the perils which surrounded it, that everything that affected the financial and social condition of the people of India would now come closer home to the British elector than it had ever done before. Of all the means which might be adopted for promoting the welfare of India, he thought that fiscal measures stood first, and then came the social reorganization, which was in a great measure dependent upon the financial condition. If the people was in misery and poverty, the moral part of their existence was hopeless. They should not refuse the Government of India credit for what it had done. Even since Sir William Wedderburn had come before the Society with a proposal on the subject there had been enacted the Government Land Improvement Act of 1893 under which the Government could make advances for the improvement of land in various ways, and for irrigation in particular. There was, too, the Carve (?) Act of 1894, which enabled the Government to make advances to assist people who were in distress, and help them to carry on their agricultural operations. He (the speaker) had had something to do with the working of those Acts, and as practical measures they involved too much ceremony, too many inquiries, and altogether too much interference with the ordinary life of the ryot, which made him reluctant to take advances on such terms. Moreover, the moral teaching and influence which should be exercised by Banks springing up and being worked by the people themselves were wholly wanting. The Acts did a great deal of good, but they did not touch many of the cases for which Sir W. Wedderburn and he had been anxious to provide. All the evils of the financial position in India must not be attributed to the Sancars, and to the bad relations between money-lenders and borrowers; the condition of the people, and the prevailing influence among them, operated very strongly. To the Mahommedan class, which numbered some 40,000,000 or 50,000,000, the taking or giving of interest was prohibited by one of their laws. That feeling which they regarded as sacred had operated very strongly upon the Mahommedan's way of looking at life.



and the consequence was that in every path of life they were outstripped by Jews and Christians. Mahommedans should be invited to take the matter up, and make plain to their own people that the taking of interest in a reasonable way was an essential condition of mercantile progress. Then, too, the joint Hindoo family was a great commercial obstruction, as lenders generally refused to advance money on joint interest in property. He put these matters before the meeting, because they must not expect that the proposed arrangement would eliminate distress, but what they ought to do was to enable societies to be formed among the people themselves to sift out those capable of using capital well, and let those incapable of using it gravitate down to the position of labourers. As associations under similar circumstances had been found to work in Europe, so they might be made to work in India. He believed they might be made to work even under the existing laws of India on a scheme of limited guarantee under the Joint Stock Act. A society might be formed of 80 or 100 members. By giving a guarantee the money might be raised, and then advanced to the members or those nominated by them. Debentures might be issued at a very moderate rate of interest, and then they could lend at less than the Sencars, and the repayments would extinguish the debt, principal and interest, in say 20 years. The experiment might be made under the law as it stood at present, and after it had been made and the weak spots discovered, then the Government might be approached and shown the way in which to improve the financial condition of the country. To start the scheme some money was wanted, and India needed a few men of disinterested benevolence and capacity to come forward and be the organizers of the scheme, and furnish a small fund to begin with. He would ask 100 native and English gentlemen to be the guarantors of say £100 each advanced upon debentures to make a fund of £10,000. If this scheme were introduced, he believed that in 10 years India would have advanced greatly, and then with improved relations between the Indian currency and the general currency of the world he believed that India might start on a new career of prosperity.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he had consulted Sir W. Wedderburn with regard to a resolution which it had been proposed to put, but unfortunately it was the rule of the Association not to pass Resolutions, and so, with Sir W. Wedderburn's permission, he would not propose it. It was a Resolution entirely in sympathy with the proposals suggested by the paper, and he might say that the scheme and the Resolution would be laid before the Council, and considered very carefully, and they would see what practical steps the Association might be able to take. He thought that would be as efficient as passing the Resolution.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, M.P., in moving a vote of thanks to Sir William Wedderburn for the very interesting paper he had read, wished that all the facts that had been laid before the meeting could be equally well laid before Parliament; still, owing to the perseverance of Sir W. Wedderburn and others interested in India, little by little members of Parliament were being inoculated with some knowledge about that country, and something had been done to bring home to them the extreme poverty of the people of

India, and the need of improvement. He considered the scheme proposed was one of the most practical he had ever heard suggested for raising the position of the rural population. They were hopelessly in debt, and borrowers were paying as much interest as 5 per cent. a month. The first thing to do was to free them from debt, and to bring the currency of that country into accordance with the currency of this. The forcing of the rupee up to 1s. 4d. no doubt lightened the large amount of debt India owed England, judged by rupees, but borrowers had to repay money-lenders in the advanced value of the rupee, and so we had added greatly to the debt of all the peasantry of India. He was glad that this proposal showed a way by which they could approach the great question of the poverty of the rural population.

The CHAIRMAN presented the thanks of the meeting to Sir William Wedderburn for his very able paper.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN responded, and proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman.

The following note has since been sent to us by Mr. J. B. Pennington on the above subject :

"I cannot speak with much knowledge of the subject or any experience of Agricultural Banks, but I have looked into Mr. Nicholson's exhaustive reports and cannot help thinking they contain more valuable hints than might be supposed from Sir W. Wedderburn's references to them. To begin with he is surely right in saying that it is not the State but the individual who should originate such Banks. So far perhaps we are all agreed ; but he goes on to say that *there is nothing in the law as it stands* to prevent the establishment of what he calls '*thrift and credit societies*': all that is wanted being '*the individual initiative and continuous devotion* of those who should lead the country in the path of rural reform.' If that is so, it is difficult to understand why the Bombay experiment was abandoned even when the Secretary of State was found to be so obstructive. The better plan would surely have been to try it on a more modest scale, and begin, as all such successful Banks (or Associations) have begun, in a very humble way. The project was apparently too ambitious, and depended too much on Capitalists who are quite out of place in such a scheme for the promotion of thrift among 'small folk.' 'Credit is, no doubt, essential to agriculture everywhere, but *the stimulation of thrift and prudence* is a necessary antecedent to the grant of credit': it is 'not the mere out-pouring of cheap capital that is required, but *facilities for saving and the development of thrift.*' 'Without thrift there can be no credit, and it is a mere dream to suppose that the ryots' difficulties will be at an end as soon as cheap credit is introduced through Banks.' What is wanted *first* is the development of thrift. You must change the nature of the average Hindu. There is in India no real thirst for money for the sake of agricultural improvements : if there were the ryots would have made more use of the very liberal '*takkāvi*' system, cumbrous as it no doubt is.

Mr. Nicholson's conclusion is that there are in Madras plenty of fit men in every considerable village to work a thrift society *on a modest and suitable scale* ; and that, if there are in the Presidency men of the character and energy of the pioneers of popular Banking in Europe, the success of the movement cannot be long (or should we say 'much longer'?) delayed. No one who knows anything of India can doubt the immense benefit they would be to the country if properly managed."

## MEMORIAL ON THE NATAL INDIAN GRIEVANCES.

The following correspondence is published for information. The matter is receiving the earnest attention of the Council.

*From the Council of the East India Association,*

*3, Victoria Street, S.W.,*

*15th December, 1897.*

*To Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.*

MY LORD,

Representatives of the Indian Community in Natal, South Africa, have—on several occasions, both by written and personal application—requested the East India Association to consider and examine certain grievances which they are alleged to suffer in the Colony, and should these appear to be well founded and remediable, to assist them in obtaining redress from H.M.'s Government.

2. As your Lordship is aware, the East India Association was formed to promote, by all legitimate means, the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India, and the effect of recent legislation in Natal is so opposed to these interests, that the Association believes it to be its duty to move your Lordship to take such action as may mitigate or remove disabilities or grievances which are inconsistent with such rights as should be possessed by all loyal subjects of Her Majesty.

3. In anticipation of the preliminary objection that this remonstrance should be addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, we would observe that the defence or the interests of natives of India belongs, in the first place, to the Indian Government, that the Colonial Secretary has already expressed his sympathy with the position of Indian residents in Natal, and lastly that the question is so complicated by political, industrial, and race considerations, that it is very doubtful whether the Colonial Office would feel justified, having regard to the general principles which govern its imperial policy, in taking further direct action to remove the hardships of which complaint is made. The Indian Government which supplies the indentured labour which is necessary to the prosperity and development of the colony, has alone the power to stipulate for the fair and honourable treatment of free immigrants to Natal, as it now provides for the protection of indentured labourers.

4. The grievances for the redress of which we have the honour to solicit your Lordship's assistance, are those which have been deliberately decided, and openly acknowledged to be intended to discourage, and even render impossible, the immigration into Natal of free Indian settlers; and are contained in four Acts which have been passed during the present year by the Natal Legislature—the Quarantine Act; the Immigration Act; the Trading License Act, and the Act to protect the uncovenanted Indians from liability to arrest. The Council of the East India Association do not hesitate to express their conviction that this series of Acts directed against a loyal, respectable, and industrious class of Her Majesty's subjects, is opposed to equity and sound policy, and is discreditable to modern civilization.

5. It is to be understood that as a legacy of the slavery on which both

Dutch and English settlements in South Africa were founded, there is among European emigrants an invincible prejudice against manual agricultural labour, although the climate of Natal is certainly not more unsuited to such labour than that of the Australian Colonies. The consequence is that the Kaffir race, being of no value as agriculturists, the Colony imports under indentures from India large numbers of so-called coolies, but in reality trained and skilful agricultural labourers, bound under conditions agreed upon with the Indian Government, to work for a term of years on the tea, sugar, and other estates which now form a considerable part, and will in the future form a still larger part, of the wealth of the colony. Without these labourers the industrial development of Natal could not be effected. But while the colony is anxious to obtain indentured labourers, it objects most strongly and in the most arbitrary manner to the immigration of free unindentured Indians, Hindus, and Mohammedans alike; merchants with their assistants and servants, and petty traders whose economical, sober, and industrious habits allow them to compete successfully with Europeans, especially in the supply of goods to the indigenous native community and who, as market-gardeners, pedlars, and in the probable future, as artisans reduce or threaten to reduce the high standard of wages that the European colonist desires to maintain. The source of the agitation is industrial and trade jealousy. There was originally an endeavour to create a prejudice against Indians as uncleanly and immoral and, as such, prejudicial to the well-being of the colony; but this unworthy device is being abandoned, and it is acknowledged by all competent authority, that the Indian immigrant compares favourably in personal cleanliness and morality with many European immigrants, while in sobriety and orderly conduct he is superior to most.

6. The nature of the grievances complained of is detailed in the accompanying papers, and can indeed be clearly understood on perusal of the Acts of the Natal Legislature above mentioned, without the necessity of further comment. It is sufficient to say that they render it almost impossible for free, unindentured Indian immigrants to land in Natal, or to work or reside there, and that it is frankly admitted by the farmers and supporters of the Acts, that it was with this intention that they were passed into law. It will further be gathered from the extracts from Natal newspapers and the utterances of prominent Natal politicians that this class legislation, so inequitable, shortsighted and opposed to all traditions of English liberty, is strongly condemned by the intelligent portion of the Natal community,

7. The Council of the East India Association would venture to point out to your Lordship, that the prohibition of Chinese immigration into the United States of America and the Australian Colonies, in no way strengthens the case of the Natal Legislation. Although trade jealousy has exaggerated the defects of the Chinese as immigrants in these countries, yet they are unquestionably undesirable settlers, belonging to an alien race and Government, and their habits are, in some instances, obnoxious to European sentiment. But the Indian has none of these defects; he is, like the Englishman, of an ancient Aryan stock; a fellow

subject, with him, of the Queen, and an industrious and law-abiding citizen. If it were not for the trade jealousy which blinds the eyes of Natal colonists, they would recognise that they could have no better and more trustworthy allies against the rapidly increasing and dangerous Kaffir population than their loyal Indian fellow subjects. The Council would especially call attention to rules under the Dealers' License Act, which require the traders to keep their books in English, and give absolute power to the Licensing Authorities to refuse to issue or renew licenses, these Licensing Authorities being the Municipalities and Town Councils, who have the strongest reason to object to Indian trade competition. In introducing this Bill into the Legislature, the Prime Minister declared that its intention was to prevent persons who competed with Europeans from getting licenses to trade. No appeal was permitted under this Act from the decision of an interested and prejudiced local official to any Court of Law. This is merely one illustration of the tendency of the legislation against which we protest, and is not more unjust or oppressive than numerous other provisions of the new laws.

8. This Council would accordingly urge on your Lordship the desirability of allaying the strong feeling of discontent which the unjust treatment of Indian immigrants in Natal has excited in India, and would venture to suggest that the Governor-General in Council be requested to consider whether the supply of indentured coolies to Natal should not be altogether prohibited, until equitable and sufficient provision has been made for the free entry of unindentured Indian settlers into the colony in reasonable and limited numbers; and for their unmolested work and residence there in such full and unrestricted liberty as is the indefeasible right of all loyal and well-conducted subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

For the Council of the East India Association.

(Signed) LEPEL-GRIFFIN,  
*Chairman.*

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REPLY.

*India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.*  
*March 8, 1898.*

SIR,

Your letter of the 15th December has been considered by the Secretary of State for India in Council, and I am directed in reply to assure your association that all the arguments adduced by you on behalf of the British Indians in Natal had been anticipated and fully considered by Her Majesty's Government, and have been urged by them as far as they thought practicable upon the Government of Natal, which, however, is a self-governing colony.

I am further to inform you that all the correspondence which has passed on the subject between this office and the Colonial Office has been communicated from time to time to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) HORACE WALPOLE.

The Chairman, East India Association,  
3, Victoria Street, S.W.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

### THE SIKH MEMORIAL FOR THE SARAGHERE HEROES.

In elucidation of the lofty conceptions of our high-minded fellow-subjects (the Sikhs), we take this opportunity of drawing the attention of our readers and of our contemporaries to the interesting document published below, which is remarkable as a record of Sikh ideals couched in noble language. It is an appeal to the Sikhs and to those who honor their self-sacrificing loyalty to our Government and the Empress of India on behalf of the memorial contemplated to be erected to the heroes who fell at Saraghere and elsewhere in the recent Frontier campaign. The Government have consented to defray the expenses of the memorial proposed to be erected at Amritsar.

#### "LETTER TO THE SIKHS.

*"Loyal martyrdom in the service (or the most honorable death in devotion to the salt) of Her Majesty the Empress of India.*

"Grant, O God, that I may never hesitate to perform good and meritorious deeds ; nor flee from my enemy in fear when I go to fight with him with the determination and certainty of victory. When the period of life may draw to its close on the field of battle, I may die fighting like a hero.  
—(*Book of the Tenth Guru.*)

"Let us prove our loyalty to our Sovereign and Master in war, and leave our life and death to God. Blessed are they that die like heroes in fight, and thereby acquire a high reputation on earth, and an honorable reception in paradise. Every drop of blood that falls from the body of a warrior in war, increases his reward in heaven. He who deserts his Sovereign and Master on the field of battle, is reproachfully accursed in this world and is, after his ignominious death, sent to hell ; and he, moreover, is so far condemned that vultures and birds of prey, knowing him disloyal, disdain even to touch the flesh of his dead body.—(*Life of the Tenth Guru.*)

#### "KHALSA JI,

"One of the greatest aims of man in his earthly career, is death in a glorious manner, and there can be no better or more glorious death than that achieved on the field of battle ; a death that the ancient heroes longed for and that the Khalsa warriors prized above everything else ; and such a death is the most illustrious and exalted.

"A true Sikh delights in war as he delights in his peaceful vocations of life, and is equally great in one and the other. He is the same on a field of battle and in a princely palace. His engagement in action in war is like his engagement in some jolly festival and sport in a lovely scene\* of a

\* This scene is thus compared—Clouds of smoke in war to the clouds of rain, peal of guns to the thunder of clouds, shower of bullets to the shower of rain, flowing of blood to the flow of red fluid thrown over in a festive sport.

rainy season. He is happy and contented to live in this world, and equally happy and cheerful on the prospect of going to the next.\* He is covered with glory and surrounded with honor and reputation when he returns victorious from war, but he gains double advantage from his death in the field, as he attains to the highest bliss in heaven where he is also received with great distinction, and is remembered with great honor and praise in the world which pays homage to his sacred memory.

“Through the mysterious power of Amrit (immortal), or the baptismal water of the combined baptism of the spirit and the sword, he becomes immortal both in this and the next world, and through his devotion and sacrifice to his Sovereign, he approaches near the dignity of those exalted that die† for God and their Guru. The glorious end of life of the illustrious Khalsa warriors at Saraghere and other places on the frontier, reminds the world of the honorable death of the heroic band of the ancient Spartans‡ at the pass of Thermopylæ.

“Nor have the Khalsa warriors obtained immortal glory and fame only for their bravery on the field. They have ably acquitted themselves of their sacred duty, as enjoined by their religion, in their military service, with admiration, and have done full credit to their military discipline. At the word of command they would lay down their lives for the sake of their Sovereign, and would perish at their post, with composed mind and cool courage, for the honor of the British arms, with the solace and satisfaction

f having closed their existence as befitted the true followers of the Guru. Such is the Khalsa whose signal sacrifice in the present war has awakened the sympathy of their British brethren to memorialize their heroic deeds, devotion and honorable death in a most suitable and lasting manner.

\* A true Sikh considers his earthly existence transitory and false, and his death as sure and certain. He, therefore, does not fear the latter, but gladly faces it as the decree of his Creator.

† There are two grades of martyrs:—First, that die for God and their Guru, are known, divine or saintly, religious or holy, or most exalted martyrs. Second, that die for their Sovereign or country, are called loyal or patriotic, or most honorable martyrs. The former occupies the first or foremost, and the latter second, place in martyrdom. Both are treated with equal respect and distinction. But those that die with conspicuous gallantry are alone recognized as martyrs.

‡ A few hundred Spartans opposed the hordes of the Persian army at the pass of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.), and in obedience to the laws of their country, that required them to return from war, either with or upon their shields, died fighting to the last on the ground on which they stood. These Spartans, like the Sikhs, wore long hair on their heads, and were devoted to the steel. The Spartans always occupied foremost place among the Greek army of these days. But, alas! the neglect of the laws of Sparta has so far degenerated the Greeks in the modern times that they shamefully fled before the Turks in the last war.

The Sikhs should take a lesson from this, and mind that as long as they obey their religious laws or principles of Sikhism, they will always beat their enemies on the frontier under the British banner. But should they relax or forsake these laws like the Greeks, they will, like them, never stand before their foe on the field of battle, and will become the most abject creatures in the world.

A monument was raised at that pass to the memory of the martyr Spartans, with inscription that reminded the traveller to go and tell their brethren at Sparta that the heroic party died there on the spot bound by their country's laws.

"The noble spirit that has actuated our British brethren to start this movement is truly fraternal and magnanimous, and sure to draw closer the existing bond between the two great warrior races whose love and attachment on one side, and whose benevolence and esteem on the other, should make them, jointly, regard themselves as dearest sons of the same Empress mother. How eagerly are they engaged in the fulfilment of the scheme explains their common feelings of brotherhood and great regard for each other.

"Various proposals have been made and different ways suggested to perpetuate the memory of the loyal martyrs. I beg to lay these proposals and suggestions before you, and to request you to determine what modes of memorials, how many and where, should be adopted. Nor this alone—you should join with your British brethren in this work of great benefit and usefulness, with your mind and soul, and with your purse and power, and thereby produce such results of your united action and joint opinion as may do credit to your name and nation. It may be needless to point out that the memorials should be of a permanent character, and everlasting to inspire the Sikhs with the spirit of the martyrs."

[Here follow details of various proposals regarding the best ways for perpetuating the memory of these glorious fallen warriors, which abound in interesting local references, customs, and suggested educational, rather than charitable, application of the funds, collected and to be collected. We may give some of them in the next issue.]

"There is a proposal to extend the Saraghere memorial to embrace other like incidents of heroism. There is another point for your consideration: should like cases of martyrdom, as at Saraghere, happen more in the present war, what way is the matter to be decided upon, and what arrangement to be made for them? If it may be decided that the Saraghere memorial should also include other such cases, the great memorial for all the martyrs should then be erected on the frontier in some such place as may answer the purpose for different places of martyrdom. If other martyrs may belong to different districts, their memorials in the province should be placed near some religious temples in those districts. Thus, at Tarn Taran for Manjha, and at Kartarpur for Doaba, etc. Amritsar can be made to have one or more memorials for all the martyrs.

"I have endeavoured to explain different memorials suggested with different proposals made about them. It may be advisable, perhaps, to take no practical steps so long as the war lasts, but, in the meanwhile, the matter may be thoroughly considered and the proposals settled. The subscriptions should, however, continue. You may send your opinion regarding them if you like, and your subscription too, to the Saraghere Memorial Fund Committee at Allahabad, and thereby render help and guidance in the matter. You should also distinctly bear in mind that the memorial fund will be spent according to the wishes of the subscribers.

"The last decision will rest with that Committee, and it will make it out through the influential columns of the *Pioneer*. Subscriptions and opinions may be sent there individually or collectively, or through the meetings that you may convene for this purpose or otherwise. I enclose copy of a letter



addressed to me by Mr. M. H. Park, Secretary to the Saraghere Memorial Committee, and to this letter I invite your attention.\*

"The Khalsa nation should feel happy and proud to learn that the Government of India has kindly expressed its wish to bear the expenses of the memorial at Amritsar. How greatly fortunate we are, and how very grateful and obliged to our rulers we ought to be. The Government has through this favour truly subdued our hearts, and has increased our love, zeal, and devotion to its cause a thousand times. Join with me, ye brave Khalsa nation, and let us pray thus :

"Preserve O God the British Raj over us for ever, and help us O Gurus to crush its enemies on the field of battle and plant Her Majesty's flag on their breast !

"Your most obedient servant,

"GURMUKH SINGH, CHANDHAR,

*"Alexandra Reader, Oriental College, Lahore."*

This is the letter from Mr. M. H. Park, of the *Pioneer*, alluded to :

"As the subscriptions received by the *Pioneer* on behalf of the proposed memorial to the Sikhs who fell at Saraghere now amount to close on ten thousand rupees, I think it opportune to acquaint the members of the Committee of the Fund with the wishes of the subscribers so far as these can be ascertained from letters received by me.

"The Fund was originally opened by the *Pioneer* in response to a suggestion that some memorial should be raised to the 21st Sikhs who fell at Saraghere, nothing being said as to the shape which the memorial might properly take. In the interval, however, several suggestions have been made, and these may here be conveniently classified as follows :—

"(1) A memorial to be erected at Amritsar and also one at Saragherei.

"(2) A memorial to be erected at Amritsar only.

"(3) Half the money to be collected to go to a memorial at Amritsar and half to be distributed among the widows and children of those who fell at Saragherei.

"(4) The amount to be distributed not to be given in a lump sum, but paid in the form of annuities.

"(5) The Sikhs who took part in the sortie from Fort Gulistan also to be included among the beneficiaries of the Fund.

"(6) A grant of land to be secured somewhere in the Punjab, preferably in the new Chenab Settlement.

"As to the memorial at Amritsar the question may be regarded as settled, inasmuch as the Government of India have now consented to defray the expense. As to the proposal for a separate monument at Saragherei, I may direct the attention of the Committee to the opinion expressed by General Westmacott, Commanding the 4th Brigade T. F. F., 'that any memorial erected on the Samana Range would certainly be desecrated at some future time.' If the Committee concur in this opinion, then the whole Fund becomes available for distribution, and the only question to be decided is as to the number of beneficiaries to be included and the method of distribution. As to the former point, Colonel Haughton himself, Commanding the 36th Sikhs, suggested the inclusion of the men who fell in the sortie from Fort Gulistan, and this opinion will probably commend itself to

\* As the Government is going to erect the Amritsar memorial, you will have to consider now more about other memorials and their expenses, but you can say about this memorial also, so as to make it more effective and useful. Think it also how the memorials, on the spot of fight on the frontier, be erected there if the British army return without occupying the enemy's country ?

The above proposals include also those besides my own made by the European officers through the *Pioneer*, by the *Khalsa Akhbar*, the Malva Sikhs, Sir B. Bromhead, Governor, Aitchison College, Mr. M. H. Park, Editor of the *Pioneer*, Sirdar Gurdial Singh Man, Divisional Judge, and Bhai Ajit Singh, Pleader, Ferozepur.

the other members of the Committee. As to the method of distribution, one correspondent has pointed out that if the money were distributed in a lump sum it might not improbably be dissipated, and he proposes annuities to the immediate heirs. The advantage of an annuity is obvious, but as the purchase price would depend on the ages of the recipients, it would be necessary to have details on this point before the total cost could be estimated. If we suppose 30 heirs, a monthly pension of 3 rupees each would involve an outlay of 1,080 rupees per annum. An Insurance Company might take the risk of such a payment for a lump sum of 13,000 or 14,000 rupees : the precise sum depending on the average age of the annuitants. The Fund at present amounts to 10,000 rupees, but subscriptions continue to come in, and it is not improbable that a total of 12,000 rupees or 13,000 rupees will be attained.

"There is finally the suggestion that the Punjab Government should be asked to give a grant of land where the beneficiaries of the Fund might be settled. If the Committee favour this suggestion, it would be desirable to open communications with the Punjab Government as early as possible.

"Finally, I desire to invite the opinion of the Committee as to whether a date should be fixed when the Fund will be closed, or whether for the time being this should be left indefinite. The Committee may also think it advisable to appoint a regular Secretary to the Fund."

Meetings characterized by loyal demonstration have been held at Ferozepur, Sihlkot, and Patiala. Regarding the latter, the *Pioneer Mail* of the 4th February, 1898, contains the following summary :

"A large and very successful meeting was held in the Rajinder Khalsa Hall at Patiala, under the auspices of the Sri Guru Singh Sabha, in memory of the Saraghere and Fort Gulistan heroes. His Highness the Kour Saheb presided, and His Highness the Maharaja was also present. Several eloquent and impressive speeches were delivered, a series of resolutions was unanimously adopted, and a subscription list opened. His Highness the Maharaja headed the list with a donation of Rs. 7,000, His Highness the Maharaja of Dholpur followed with Rs. 5,000, and His Highness the Kour Saheb gave Rs. 1,000. A still larger sum is expected from the general public. The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the chair and three *Jaikars* of Sot Sri Akal for Her Majesty the Empress of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala."

#### SHÂN AND SIAM.

Captn. Gerini's article on Siam, like everything that issues from his pen on the subject of Indo-China, is exceedingly interesting. Captn. Gerini is quite correct in saying that the B. *thyam* = Sans. *Syām*. It is however now a very unusual combination in Burmese and rarely made use of, and I cannot agree with him when he says that "*it is on written spelling and not pronunciation on which we have to rely.*" This is certainly not the case in Burmese, and in Upper Burma it was a common custom to write *thyiñ* for *Shiñ* when speaking of high personages. Many other instances of unreliable spelling could be produced. It is also of great importance to find that Pukam is mentioned in Cambodian inscriptions. It is probably old Pagan near Tagoung in Lat. N. 24° and not Pagan below Ava. It is not clear when this old capital was forsaken, and it may have been destroyed by the Kambojans, whom Phayre calls *Shân*. It is difficult to believe that Anuruddha's expedition against Thatôn in A.D. 1057 was merely to obtain a copy of the Tripitaka. The early history of Burma and Pegu is most obscure, and every side light that can be thrown on it is important.

If *Hsien* is an equivalent in Chinese for *Syam* it is probable that *Mien* is equivalent to *Myan* the first half of *Myan-mā*, but the origin of this name still requires to be explained. Sir Arthur Phayre's idea that it is a corruption of *Brammā* is not correct, nor do I think it is in any way connected with *Mro-mā*, even if such a term is in existence, which I doubt.

I am sorry that Capt. Gerini is so curt with Mr. Parker on the subject of *Têmala*, for there is undoubtedly a certain amount of mystery about it. I quite agree that the *Têmala* of Ptolemy was near Cape Negrais, but I do not feel certain that it is *Simūhla* or as Capt. Gerini spells it in the R.A.S. Journal for July '97 *Simylla*, or *Sida*. All that is known is that there is a small island off the mouth of the Bassien river called by the Burmese *Thamee-hla*. I do not know the *Mōñ* name for it, but the Burmese name is probably a corruption of an old name. Ptolemy says that there was a Cape *Têmala* and a mart. There is no mention of a city. *Sida* is said to be an old town in the latitude of *Henzada* at the back of *Gwa*, and may have been Ptolemy's *Sada* instead of *Sandoway*. At p. 563, R.A.S. Journal for July Capt. Gerini states that Ptolemy "lengthened the coast of Arakan." But is it not possible that the coast of Arakan at that time was really longer, and that what is now Diamond Island (*Thamee-hla*) was part of the mainland? I do not know where Mr. Parker's "state called *Tanmeiliu*" may be, or whether it was where *Têmala* ought to be, but it is still a mystery as to whether *Têmala* was the present *Thamee-hla* or on a part of the coast which has disappeared.

There is also another difficulty, if the first syllable of *Têmala* was long how did it change to *Sāmee-hla*? It was probably a *Mōñ* name as those further north as far as *Tokosanna* (of Ptolemy), the first two syllables of which resemble the *Mōñ* *\*kaw* "an island." The *Bē* in *Bêrabonna*, *Bêsyinga* and *Bêrabai* evidently represents the *Mōñ* *Bee* "a river." It is impossible to be correct in the elucidation of Burmese archæology without some knowledge of the *Mōñ* language and a full appreciation of the fact that the Burmese are a more modern tribe of interlopers who gave their own interpretation to the names of places which belonged to a language they did not understand and despised. In a country which contains so many various tribal elements one must be constantly on guard, and accept nothing without thorough and careful investigation.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.R.A.S.

#### PANJAB TRIBAL LAW.

I was extremely sorry to have to leave the meeting of the East India Association, immediately after my observations on Mr. Tupper's interesting paper, and the more so because I find that the succeeding speakers were under the most erroneous impression that I considered the question of the indebtedness of the peasantry of the Panjab to be a matter of no political importance.

On the contrary, I am now, and always was, in common with all who have held responsible positions in the Panjab Government, fully alive to the impolicy of permitting the too rapid or wholesale dispossession from their hereditary lands of the old proprietary tribes of the Province.

It was at my instance that elaborate returns were called for in 1873-4, and 1874-5 for ascertaining the extent to which such transfers were taking

place. And in the Panjab Administration Reports for 1873-4, to 1876-77 the whole subject was fully discussed.

The general result of the investigations of those years was to show that, in the opinion of Sir Henry Davies, Lieutnt.-Govr. of the Panjab, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Egerton, Financial Commissioner (both of them experienced Settlement Officers), "the transfers which were taking place did not exceed, or indeed nearly equal, the number which may safely accompany the natural and healthy development of wealth in a country in backward circumstances." It was shown that of the cultivated area of the Province less than  $\frac{1}{4}$ th part was under mortgage—in England 58 per cent. of the value of the land is mortgaged—that the number of suits for debt against the agriculturists of the Panjab was far less in proportion to the population than the number of debt-suits in England; for while in the Panjab one agriculturist out of 110 was annually sued for debt, in England one person in 22 had to undergo that unpleasant operation; that transfers of land, so far from being alarmingly frequent, were, in proportion to the extent of acreage, singularly few and unimportant; the sale of ancestral land by decree of court being almost unknown; while, in spite of tempting prices, the amount transferred by private sale was less than one acre per annum of assessed area, of which the greater portion passed into the hands, *not* of money-lenders, but of agriculturists; while the average selling price of land had risen steadily from 4 years' purchase of the Land Revenue—demand in 1859—to 30 years' purchase in 1876-7.

Unless a very serious change has come over the Panjab since I had the honour to be Secretary to Government, the financial position of the peasantry can hardly require more safe-guards than those already existing, viz., the prohibition of sale of ancestral land by decree of Court, save by order of the Chief Court, the law of preemption, the protection of a peasant's implements of husbandry, well-gear, plough-cattle and house from attachment, and the equitable interpretation of all documents executed between peasantry and village bankers.

Any further restrictions appear open to grave objection.

So long as the Govt. Revenue is paid in cash, and there are no markets close at hand, the village banker will be a necessity; and he cannot be expected to lend money without security. Further restriction will further depreciate the value of land as a security and raise still higher the rate of interest (already exorbitant), and while it will fail to teach prudence to the improvident, will tend to destroy the habit of self-reliance and industry which characterizes many of the cultivating races of the Panjab.

For if Mr. Tupper's proposal is adopted, every peasant who wishes to sell or mortgage a bit of land will have (besides satisfying his pre-emptors) to obtain the sanction of a Revenue Official, that is to say, to waste a good deal of time (possibly at a critical period of harvest operations) in dancing attendance at the *Fakshi*, while his application is being considered, and spend freely in feeing and bribing Revenue subordinates—and all this because of the evolution of a new theory as to the origin of village communities in the Panjab—a theory which will probably be superseded in a few years' time by some other theory equally plausible.

But meanwhile the poor Panjab peasant's credit will seriously suffer. So

the remedy will be worse than the disease. If I have mistaken Mr. Tupper's meaning, and all that is intended is that the Revenue Official is to arrange to allow village lands to be "detribalized," I shall be only too glad to cry "peccavi."

With regard to my strictures upon the exaggerated importance given to Tribal Law Mr. Tupper explains that what is called a "Tribal Code" is, after all, not a code at all, and has not even a legal presumption in its favour. If so I find it difficult to understand why such time and money should be spent upon it. In doubting its utility, I do not speak at random, for I have before me a letter from a distinguished Panjab Civilian, just retired, in which occurs the following passage: "I am so dead against 'custom' with all its train of lies and rubbish, as a rule of decision, that I never even read the cases on it. . . . There is no more fertile source of perjury and fabrication of evidence than 'Tribal Custom.'"

In saying this I have no desire to utter a word of disparagement of the rare abilities of my valued friend and former under-secretary.

T. H. THORNTON.

#### THE END OF THE INSURRECTIONARY WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES.\*

The Spaniards are our masters in the art of making war *economically*. While we are spending millions sterling in putting down an outbreak among the tribes on the N.W. frontier of India, they have shown us how to put down a serious rebellion in the Philippines for 400,000 dollars, a mere flea-bite in comparison. The history of the matter is as follows: The Spanish General in command, presumably finding it inconvenient to undertake to crush the rebels by force of arms, recently sent a confidential agent to the rebel camp to interview the leaders, and ask them what sum in cash they would take to square the matter and stop fighting. On consideration they said they would accept 400,000 dollars; with this proviso, that the two Spanish officers next senior in rank to the General in Command must be surrendered to them and remain in their camp as hostages until the money should be paid in Hongkong!

These terms were duly accepted. Accordingly a Colonel of the Spanish forces, authorised to pay the money at the Hongkong Bank, and a large contingent of the leading men among the rebels, have arrived in Hongkong, and taken up quarters amicably together at the Hongkong hotel, pending the payment and distribution of the money. After this no doubt the rebel leaders in Hongkong will duly telegraph to their comrades that the money is all right, the hostages will be released, and the rebellion, in the absence of its leaders, will collapse.

It is reported that forty of the chief rebels are concerned in the arrangement, which will give them an average of 10,000 dollars apiece.

\* We publish, under reserve as to its general accuracy or any of its details, the above curious account received from a most trustworthy source, that has either been misled, or that has really found the true key to the sudden end, at one time, of the Philippine insurrection. What induces us to doubt the story, though reported in perfect good faith by our esteemed correspondent, is, that it is opposed to the genius of the chivalrous Spaniards, and that it is contradicted by recent news about the insurrection, which appears to be still in activity.—*Editor*.

No doubt this way of putting down a rebellion is excellent from the financial and economical point of view. But the question naturally arises, how long will the resulting peace be likely to last? Will not these same rebel leaders, when they have spent their money, or another similar set of adventurous spirits of whom probably there is no lack in the Philippines, set themselves next year or the year following to stir up the smouldering embers of rebellion, and have again to be squared with another 400,000 or 500,000 dollars? Rebellion would appear to be a profitable game in the Spanish colonies to men of an aspiring and enterprising turn of mind.

HONGKONG.

#### THE HUNZA CHIEFS IN CALCUTTA.

In a most unexpected place—the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta—we have found an interesting account of the Hunza chiefs who were taken down to Calcutta. At the meeting of the Society at Darjiling on the 5th June, 1897, the President, Mr. H. H. Risley, C.I.E., said that he had been detailed by Government to take charge of these Hunza men. He had not the least doubt that they were the lineal descendants of the Greek settlers left behind in India by Alexander the Great. He had been asked to take measurements with a view to determining their type, and the methods applied established that their cast of features was Greek. In fact, they more resembled the ancient Greek type than any specimens now to be found in Athens. One young chief was a perfect Apollo in appearance. His name was Secunder Khan, or Alexander, and he claimed to be descended from Alexander the Great. The difference between the chiefs and the people was most marked. There was not a shadow of doubt that in the chiefs the Greek blood had remained comparatively pure. No remnant of Greek culture remained with them, however; they were savages pure and simple. It was remarkable to see these children of nature when the *khillats*, or dresses of honour, ordered for them, were brought to them. One man would take, say, a red one, and admire himself in it till he saw one of his comrades, say in a blue one, when he would immediately covet the other. They were inordinately vain and jealous, and no settlement could be arrived at among themselves, so Sir George Robertson, who was a strong man, settled the question for them by handing to each a particular suit and declaring it suited him above all the others. But for this, they might have been disputing still.

#### SCHEME FOR AN INQUIRY CONCERNING ISLAMISM.

We have received from a most authoritative source the following scheme, for the carrying out of which, in a true scholarly spirit, friendly alike to Islāmic and Christian learning and interests, we know of no more eminently competent man than the illustrious Professor E. MONTET, whose summaries of research in various Oriental languages created such deserved impression at the London Oriental Congress of 1891. We will revert to this important scheme, which interests alike the learned societies and Muhammadan, as well as Christian scholars.—*Editor.*

##### I.

The recent victories of Turkey upon the battlefields of Greece, and the still more pronounced victory that the Sultan had gained over European diplomacy in Armenian and Cretan affairs, has revived Panislamism to the fullest extent in the vast spiritual empire of Muhammad.

At the same time, and as a consequence of the first fact, never has the

Islamic propaganda been more active in the two great continents, where for centuries it has been carried on in such a manner that, from the political point of view, the question of Panislamism, formerly languishing and slumbering, again assumes a very positive attitude. Has Europe to fear this awakening of the Mussulman religious sentiment, which tends to create, if not against her, at least near her, a powerful political union, uniting under the same religious banner, divers nationalities and States ?

It is evident that no European Power could be indifferent to such a movement, especially England, by reason of the importance of her colonies in Mussulman countries.

Christianity is not less interested in the work of the Islamic propaganda which is being undertaken. The Mussulman missionaries in Africa not only practise a disastrous opposition to Christian missionaries, but in many parts of the Dark Continent actually hold them in check. In Asia, without speaking of the great Mussulman states of the west and centre, Islamism does not cease to make rapid progress in India and China.

The revival of Islamism, necessarily attracts the attention to-day of the personages who have the political and spiritual direction of Europe, and of all those who have any interest in the political and religious questions of the East and the Far East.

A strange thing that this Islam which represents a civilization, and a spiritual and moral state so different from ours, appeared to us, wherever it exists, to be waning and decaying. Its inferiority to European and Christian civilization is undeniable (such is, at least, the opinion held in Christian countries), but, nevertheless, this same Islam advances and progresses by its conquests ! Never has a more captivating problem of race and of religion been put ; this problem has never been determined. Without doubt, Islamism is a religious force of astounding vitality, as past history and that which happens under our eyes (to-day) proves. There is no doubt that it is the *prop par excellence* of Oriental states and governments, few of which can be seriously ranked with the great kingdoms of Europe. Doubtless, as a civilization and a religion, Islam has had similar destinies, and it possesses some points in common with those of European and Christian civilizations. None the less there remains a riddle to solve, a problem to elucidate in this unique fact in history : a civilization and a religion, judged (almost unanimously in Europe) as inferior and as decaying, not only maintaining their positions, but expanding their empire, and increasing it with great strides.

## II.

It is this problem that Dr. Edward Montet, Professor of Oriental languages at the University of Geneva, seeks to elucidate by means of a new study of Islamism in the principal countries wherein it has spread. The important and heavy task, to which he has a great desire to devote himself, will be impossible without his finding in high places the support which such an enterprise necessitates.

The conditions necessary to an explorer, according to Dr. Montet, in order to be able to devote himself to this study, scientific and practical, of Islam, are the following :

1. To possess a knowledge of the languages of the Mussulman East.

2. An actual and exact knowledge of the religion of Islam and of the Mussulman centres. (?)

3. To be versed up to date as regards past and recent inquiries, of which Islam has been the object. (Dozy, Leitner, Snouck, etc.)

4. To exercise the greatest impartiality possible in the study of races and religions.

5. To possess, in regard to the Mussulman centre and to Islam, the friendly sympathy that a broad Christian conviction can only permit, and which is absolutely indispensable for examining and judging without prejudice.

What will the inquiry consist of according to Dr. Montet? In the study of the spiritual state of Mussulman countries, because the spiritual state of a race is its *raison d'être*; it is there and there only where it is possible to find out the secret of its strength, or the cause of its weakness and the explanation of its present career.

How can one know this spiritual state? There are two ways, both equally instructive, at the disposal of the scholar. The first is in the study of the literature, and in those of the universities and establishments of learning of all the Mussulman denominations. The second, which is still more important, is in having personal intercourse with Mussulmans, more especially with men of intellect belonging to the upper classes. It is obvious that in order to carry out successfully such a task, Dr. Montet must be helped by superior and competent authorities. The zeal and devotion of the scholar will not suffice for the realization of this scheme of an essentially scientific kind, the practical object of which is, to throw more light upon a problem which concerns in a high degree European and Christian civilization and the Governments which represent it, and more especially England, which takes the lead.

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#### THE BI-METALLIC LEAGUE MANIFESTO.

In the *Times* of March 5 there is a short summary of a manifesto by the Bi-metallic League, the main object of which is to induce the Imperial Government not to allow the Indian Government to persevere in its attempt to establish a gold standard. There is one way in which, it has been suggested, the attention of the Indian Government might be drawn to the matter, and that is, by intimating to the natives that the Government is the unconscious author of their difficulties, in having intentionally closed the mints, whereby uncoined silver is depreciated. We would not advocate sowing any seeds of what might possibly cause discontent among the lower orders of natives. We believe, on the contrary, that the suggestion which Mr. Twigg makes in his article in the present issue of the Review, that municipalities should petition the Government, will answer every useful purpose.

We may note that it is rumoured that a duty is to be imposed on silver imports with the view of bolstering up exchange. The power conferred last year upon the Secretary of State of borrowing up to ten millions sterling in England is now exhausted to the extent of nine and a half millions, so that additional borrowing powers must be immediately asked for from Parliament.



## THE LATE MR. C. SCHEFFER.

We deeply regret to announce to our readers that the death has occurred at Paris, at the age of 77, of M. Charles Scheffer, director of the School of Living Oriental Languages, which is a monument to the good side of the Directorate in the Great French Revolution. He was interpreter at various French Consulates in the East, was attached to the expedition to Syria, and in 1862 negotiated the annexation of Obock. Professor at the School of Oriental Languages since 1857, he became director in 1867, and in 1878 succeeded, at the Academy of Inscriptions, Garcin de Tassy, the great Hindustani and Hindi scholar, whose lamented decease has deprived the Indian world of his unparalleled annual Report on Hindustani and Hindi Literature. He was the author of various works, including a "History of Central Asia," and also a "History of the French Embassy at Constantinople."

## POOR INDIA !

I feel very sad for the mistakes which the Government are committing, mistakes not only in reference to the Sedition Bill, but also in various other administrative acts. Concessions which were generously made to the Indian people are being withdrawn one by one; in the Education and other departments the natives are being shut out of high appointments which they have hitherto held; in municipal administration (in which they have done *excellent* work) their powers are being circumscribed; in all departments the Government is becoming more autocratic and less sympathetic. There is a settled gloom over the country; the educated people of India, who are loyal by their *own* interests, seem to be in despair, and a dissatisfaction is spreading over the land which may be fraught with political danger. The Government, or rather the party in power, seem almost to think repression and coercion to be the only remedy; I am afraid it is no remedy in India, after three generations of Indians have been educated in English schools and read English history, and appreciated the progress of England and her colonies. We shall have to undo much of what we are doing—and that after a great deal of bad blood has been created.

AN OFFICIAL.

## THE RECENT WEAVERS' ROUT IN BOMBAY.

The "JOLAIS" of Bombay are, physically, weak and, morally, inferior in workmanship to the art-industrials of Surat and other places, but whom, for all that, the competition of manufactories in Bombay has not yet succeeded in displacing, owing to the honesty, superiority and finish of their simple handicraft, chiefly Saris and Cholis, in which they take traditional and professional pride. Their condition is that of great poverty, though it is not so hopeless as that of the mill-hands under "civilized" organizations. They, like them, however, live to a great extent in the comfortless and insanitary monster-barracks, called "Chawls," that the commercial greed of European and other speculators is said to have constructed in Bombay for the accommodation, or rather exploitation of "hands," and that is alleged to be the primary cause of the plague and its continued nursery.

The real name of the *class* (not *caste*, as correspondents have telegraphed,

ignoring the fact of the weavers being Muhammadans and not Hindus), is "Julláh," or "weaver," corrupted into "Jolai." They are greatly attached to their religion and families, and their excessive timidity is only overcome by outrages on what to them is so sacred. To accuse wealthy Muhammadans from up-country of having instigated the riot, is obviously a makeshift explanation by those who may have abused their authority. When a Plague Committee, spending lakhs of money, has, according to a letter from a Bombay physician in a recent *Times*, only *one* medical man on it, the allegations of natives, unreasonably resisting alleged scientific methods devised for their own good, seem at once to be disposed of. With a naval officer as Secretary, and quasi-scientific amateurs as members, any dissatisfaction to them is intelligible, especially if their orders are enforced by British soldiers, whose *suaviter in modo* leaves much to be desired, even in their own country. In India, caste and religion are based on segregation and social restrictions generally, and had the Pandits and Mullahs been drawn from the very first into the confidence of Government and of sympathetic experts, they would have made indispensable and real scientific measures acceptable among the people, whereas the unquenchable busy-bodiness of ignorant and arrogant office-hunters, for whom any appointment in any capacity whatever is an object of ambition, is often the main cause of disturbance in India, especially when the practical carrying out of any order is entrusted to low-bred European assistants "armed with a little brief authority." The Jolais live in great numbers at Kamatipura, about three miles from the Esplanade, and within ten minutes' walk of the Jamsetji Hospital, that they attacked in consequence of, possibly, a series of provocations, which in the nature of things are apt to be hushed up, even if honestly examined. The ignorance which at once converts a small outbreak by a set of poor weavers, driven to despair, into a formidable fighting caste, second, perhaps, only to the combined Pathan tribes, or, say, the Poona Brahmins, and supported by a dangerous conspiracy from up-country, is only worthy of the report that appeared once in the Press of a frontier engagement, when "Dhoolies" (or stretchers) "came down to carry off the wounded," and this was improved into "Then the *ferocious* Dhoolies came down to carry off the wounded," to mutilate them or kill them, we were not told. Similarly, the "ferocious" though unarmed and small, band of Jolais came down to carry off the sick from the hospital, but were deservedly punished by a combination of the available military, naval and police forces of the "*urbs prima in Indis*."

After above was already printed, we hear from Bombay that, at last, the carrying out of the sanitary measures has been entrusted to the leaders of the various native communities generally, and that the British soldiery no longer accompany plague parties. "Better late, than never."

In spite of our increasing the usual number of pages in the present issue from 224 to 240, we have been compelled to postpone a valuable article on the supposed tribute of Burma to China by Mr. E. H. Parker, the *facile princeps* of the question, to our July number. This paper seems to us to bear indirectly on the Anglo-Burmese convention with China, which will ripen for discussion, leading perhaps to a solution, by the next quarter.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

## "THE JAPJI OR SIKH MORNING PRAYER."

MR. M. MACAULIFFE, the distinguished Panjab civilian, now retired, whose first paper on the Scriptures of the Sikhs will be found in this issue under "Orientalia" has addressed "a circular letter to the Sikhs," in which he sends them what he is pleased to call, a "rough translation" of the "Japji," a morning hymn of prayer and praise, which every Sikh is taught to repeat daily. The translation is the most felicitous that could be expected from an original combining several archaic Indian dialects, some of which are almost lost, even their own national one, popularly known as "Gurmukhi," deteriorating fast. The genius of the English translator, attracted by the sublime style and high ethics of "the sacred writings of the Sikhs," has proved itself to be worthy of its ideal. We will leave his criticism on Dr. Trumpp's incomplete rendering of their holy book, the Granth Sahib, having ourselves expostulated with that learned German Missionary, whose linguistic work we ourselves promoted, on his too pedantic translation, which ignored the traditional explanations of the Gurus and Gyanis, Sikh teachers and *savants*, who can naturally throw much light on the mysteries of their Bible.\* The painful literalism of Dr. Trumpp and his religious preconceptions also sometimes render his versions unacceptable to men of taste and impartiality, whereas Mr. Macauliffe's long association and sympathies with the Sikhs, makes the work in which he is engaged one well deserving of encouragement by the noble-minded Sikh Chiefs, and by Oriental Scholars generally. Above all, is the British Government bound to encourage a *magnum opus*, the elaboration of which will not only perpetuate historical and sacred volumes of great literary and philological value, but also render their lessons of loyalty, devotion to duty, piety, self-sacrifice and the highest virtues fully intelligible to their devotees, the manly Sikhs, the truest of our subjects. Further on, we will quote a few verses of "the morning hymn," in the hope that we may thereby convey some idea of its incomparable loftiness and beauty, but we must precede our citations by the opening lines of the 38 poems that compose the Sikh "Pæan of the Moon," as a sketchy Summary of its contents, in the hope of eliciting the attention and support of our readers to Mr. Macauliffe's important publication, now in progress :

1. He [God] was true in the beginning ; He was true in the primal age ;  
He is true also now and will ever be true.

How shall man become true before God ; how shall the veil of falsehood be rent ?

Those who hunger for God do not cease to hunger for Him.

2. By His order inanimate forms were produced and animate things exist. (See 3 lines of this verse, further on.)

\* See also remarks on page 237 of our issue of January, 1895.—*Ed.*

3. Who can sing His power? Who has power to sing it? (See 3 lines of this verse, further on.)
4. True is the Lord, true is His name; it is uttered with endless love.
5. He is not created; sing and hear, put His love into your hearts.
6. If it please Him, I bathe at a place of pilgrimage; if not, what ablutions shall I make?
7. Were man to live for ages, he would still be a sinner among sinners.
8. By hearing "the name" [of God] men become (holy men of all religions).
9. By hearing "the name" men become as Iswar [Providence], Brahma and Indra.
10. By hearing "the name" truth, patience, and divine knowledge are obtained.
11. By hearing "the name" the depth of the sea of virtues is sounded.
12. The condition of him who obeys God cannot be described.
13. By obeying Him wisdom and understanding enter the heart.
14. By obeying Him man's path is not obstructed. (See 5 lines of this, further on.)
15. By obeying Him man obtains the gate of salvation.
16. The elect are acceptable, distinguished; they obtain honour in God's court. (See 4 lines, further on.)
17. Numberless Thy worshippers and numberless Thy lovers.
18. Numberless the wicked, ignorant, etc.
19. Numberless Thy names and Thy places.
20. When the body is unclean it is washed by water.  
So when the mind is defiled by sin, it is cleansed by the detergent of the Name.
21. Pilgrimage, austerities, compassion and alms-giving are good, but obeying and loving God is better than all this.
22. Hundreds and thousands of nether and upper regions, of holy books, but none can describe Him.
23. Praisers praise God, but may not know Him. (See 3 lines, further on.)
24. There is no limit to God [all possible limits are now described].
25. His many mercies cannot be recorded.
26. Priceless are Thine attributes, O God. (See verse further on.)
27. What is that gate? That mansion what? Where Thou dost sit.
28. Make contentment thine ear-rings, modesty and self-respect thy wallet.
29. (See verse further on.) Make divine knowledge thy food, civility thy store-keeper.
30. One Maya, in union *with God*, gave birth to three acceptable children [the Creator, Providence, and Death].
31. His seat and His store-houses are in every world.
32. Were one tongue to become a hundred thousand and a hundred thousand to become twenty-fold more,  
I would utter the name of the one Lord of the World hundreds of thousands of times.

33. I have no strength to speak or to be silent, to live or die without God's help.
34. *God created* nights, seasons, days, the elements and nether regions—in the midst of all, the Earth, His temple.
35. I now describe the condition of the realm of the holy.
36. In one realm of the holy is the light of divine knowledge.
37. Force is the characteristic of the realm of action.
38. Make chastity thy furnace, patience thy goldsmith. (See verse at end.)

With the view of, however inadequately, illustrating this sublime prayer we have selected the following few verses. They resemble, in their tone and spirit, what we find in our own Bible.

#### INTRODUCTION.

"There is but one God, whose name is true, the Creator, the all-pervading, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-begotten."

#### II.

By His order *inanimate* forms were produced; His order cannot be described.

By His order *animate* things *exist*, by His order greatness is obtained.

By His order men are high or low; by His order they obtain pre-ordained pain or pleasure.

#### III.

Who can sing His power? Who has power to sing it?

Who can sing His gifts or know His signs?

Who can sing His attributes, His greatness and His deeds?

#### XIV.

By obeying Him man's path is not obstructed.

By obeying Him man departs with honour and distinction.

By obeying Him man proceeds in ecstasy on his way.

By obeying Him man forms an alliance with Virtue.

So pure is God's name.

Whoever obeys God knows the pleasure of it in his own heart.

#### XVI.

The elect are acceptable, the elect are distinguished.

The elect obtain honour in God's court.

The elect shed lustre on the courts of kings.

The attention of the elect is bestowed on God alone.

#### XXIII.

Praisers praise God, but have not acquired a knowledge of Him.

As rivers and streams fall into the sea, but do not know *its extent*,

As the sea is the king of *streams*, so is God the monarch of men.

#### XXIV.

There is no limit to God's praises, to those who repeat them there is no limit.

There is no limit to His creation, and to His gifts there is no limit.

His limit cannot be seen, His limit cannot be heard of.

## XXVI.

Priceless are Thine attributes, O God, and priceless Thy dealings with Thy Saints.

Priceless is Thy love and priceless those who are absorbed in Thee.

Priceless Thy justice and priceless Thy Court.

Priceless Thy mercy and priceless Thine ordinances.

How beyond all price *Thou art* cannot be stated.

## XXIX.

Make divine knowledge thy food, civility the store-keeper, and the Voice which is in every heart the call to all thy guests.

Make Him who has strung the whole world on *His string* thy spiritual Lord.

Hail, Hail to Him.

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age.

## XXXVIII.

Make chastity thy furnace, patience thy goldsmith.

Understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thy tools.

Fear thy bellows, austerity thy fire.

Divine love thy crucible, and God's ambrosial name thy smelting.

In such a true mind the word shall be fashioned.

This is the practice of those on whom God looks with an eye of favour.

The *Kind* one by a glance makes them happy.

## VOL. IV. OF THE NEW "OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY."

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK.

2. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Founded mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society*, edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. IV., Fr—fyz, G—a. By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. In our last issue we pointed out the great value of this Dictionary to all colleges and public libraries, as well as to men of science and learning, and the pains which is bestowed, by historical methods, to explain the meaning of words, and to trace their origin. The present number explains 2,128 main words, 300 subordinate entries, 1,039 special or obvious combinations, with illustrations and quotations, and among the articles, that on the word *free* occupies eleven columns; the word *from*, five columns, the word *full*, twelve columns. The words *frashilah*, *frayne*, *free*, *freeze*, *fry*, *full*, *fum*, are traceable to Arabic, Old Aryan, Sanscrit, or Chinese. Much etymological information is given in this magnificent undertaking which will not be found in any former English dictionary. We look forward with great pleasure to the issue of the next number of this most important publication, and we hope to be able to review, especially the words derived from Oriental languages, at greater length in our next issue.

3. *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, by the ABBÉ J. A. DUBOIS. (Translated from the author's later French manuscript, and edited, with notes, corrections, and biography, by HENRY K. BEAUCHAMP,

with a prefatory note by the Right Honourable F. MAX MÜLLER, and a portrait. In two volumes.) This is a work of unusual importance and standard value. The fact of its being strongly recommended in a prefatory note by so accomplished and discriminating a scholar as Professor Max Müller must of itself alone be a sufficient commendation of it in the judgment of all who are concerned for the conservation of sound knowledge regarding the subject of which the work treats. In one particular only, touching that prefatory note, do we regret to find fault: it relates to an error of fact. The distinguished Professor states that "the Abbé Dubois spent the whole of his life in the Dakkhan and in the Madras Presidency." From this statement his readers would be led to conclude that the Abbé was born and died in India,—having never been out of the country. As a fact, the Abbé lived 83 years, of which he spent in India a little more than a third—to wit, 31 years. The error is the more startling from the fact that Professor Max Müller himself tells us that the Abbé was "born *about* the year 1770," and later on gives us the date of his decease (1848). (The editor, in his preface, gives the Abbé's age at the time he died.) Absolute accuracy in regard to dates in *any* biography is of its very essence, and emphatically so when it is that of a man so distinguished as Dubois. The truth is that of the 83 years of his life the Abbé spent the first 27 and the last 25 in his native land,—France. But "even good Müller sometimes nods"; the publishers, however vigilant and learned, also passed the slip: they will doubtless put it right in future editions.

It is important to note that the present issue is in no proper sense an "edition" of the Abbé's original work. The original manuscript of the work was found, upon examination, to contain much that required reconsideration, and even excision. It consisted mainly of observations, many of which were written down at a period of his life when India—that land of deep occultism—was comparatively new ground to him. All who have resided long in that country know what it is to cry "Peccavi!" as they peruse, in the light of the riper experience of after years, the notes which at one period seemed to them correct. When, on the publication of the Abbé's work, his attention was asked to some of the notes he had made in the earlier years of his life in India, he agreed that they required correction; and when he undertook the task, he found that the entire work required to be re-written. It is the work as thus corrected, enlarged, re-modified and brought up to date, that is now before us. The importance of this information will be apprehended when we add that the editor of the present work says in his preface that the original manuscript as altered by Dubois "bore hardly any more resemblance to the original work than a rough outline sketch does to a finished picture. And yet this, so to speak, 'rough sketch' has up to this day been all that English readers have had presented to them of the Abbé's work." What the complicated history of the work has been Mr. Beauchamp is at great pains to inform us: the story, however, is too long to be quoted here. The point to mark is, that the present is the first appearance in English dress of the completed work as revised and enlarged by the Abbé himself. It is published in a couple of thick, handsome volumes, and the editing and printing are such as leave

nothing to be desired. At the end there are several most valuable appendices, and a full and carefully-compiled index,—which, together with a most elaborate table of contents at the beginning, renders the innumerable details of the work easily accessible.

Several works already exist in English dealing with the same subject, some of which were compiled by natives of India. But accuracy in minute particulars is not usually a strong point with Indians ; so that literary work emanating from those quarters cannot always be relied upon until it has been thoroughly sifted by some patient and competent European scholar. The advantage of Dubois' work over all works of this nature by Indian authors is this, that though much of his material was collected from the lips of the people among whom he lived, yet all the facts were eventually sifted by himself. The enhanced value of the completed work of Dubois may be judged of from Mr. Beauchamp's words already cited. The work is more learned, more complete, and more up-to-date on the subject on which it treats than is the kindred work of Ward, of Serampore, and must be regarded as a "Classic." Missionaries and other Europeans who would fully equip themselves for their work in India by sound information concerning the Hindus of every class, as also all antiquarian students and students of Ethnology, will find that this work will conduct them by the shortest and safest route to the purpose they have in view. The work is prefixed by a speaking likeness of the author, which was copied from the original painting in the possession of the Madras Government. We know not what the charge for the work may be, but it is cheap at *any* price.

B.

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LAWRENCE AND BULLEN ; LONDON.

4. *What will Japan Do? A Forecast*, by J. MORRIS. This book will be read with extreme interest in view of present proceedings in Korea and China by Japan, Germany, and Russia. The author, in a very graphic and spirited way, indicates the activity of Japan in her naval and military arrangements, her determination to hold her own as an independent and potent power in the Far East. The perusal of the work will tend to convince British statesmen as to the important position of Japan, in relation to British interests, both in China and Australasia, in the event of Russian encroachments. Some of the author's forecasts and predicted naval engagements with Russia are written with such an air of reality and minuteness that the reader is apt to think that the conflict has already taken place.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. ; LONDON.

5. *A Memoir of Major-Gen. Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart.*, etc., by GEORGE RAWLINSON, Canon of Canterbury, with an introduction by FIELD-MARSHAL LORD ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR, V.C. ; with illustrations. The nineteenth century has been distinguished above all the other centuries for the *number* of its great men and for the greatness of achievements from its commencement till now. We are not forgetting great men of other generations ; we are thinking rather of the *number* of such men that have adorned this century. As we think of the Davys and the Herschells and the Fara-



days, in the department of science,—of the Burckhardts, Burtons and Livingstones, among travellers,—of the Layards, Murchisons and Rawlinsons among antiquaries and explorers, we find that in “the embarrassment of riches” we scarcely know where to stop. As compared with those who lived at the end of the last century, we of the present time seem to be living in a new world, or new order of things. One of the men who have helped to place the present generation in such a position is the subject of this Memoir. For *many-sidedness* we scarcely know an equal to Rawlinson. We find it not easy to decide in what department he was greatest; for whether we view him as a military officer, consul, political agent, or Queen’s ambassador; as a scientist, linguist, or explorer, as a diplomat or statesman,—he was great. All this we say while disapproving, as we feel bound, of his policy respecting our North-West Frontier in India,—a policy that has tended, as we believe, to create a distrust of our national character and aims and to raise up against us on *both* sides of that Frontier feelings of racial antipathy. It has been described as the policy of “Russophobia”; and whatever may be said by the advocates of that policy of reckless expenditure and territorial aggrandisement, the question still returns to them—“What do we gain by that policy?” We have not gained the Russians, nor the Afghans nor the Afridis; nor have we gained prestige with our own subjects, except, perhaps, the Sikhs, in India; on the contrary, that feeling of “unrest” which of late has so evidently marked all classes of the peoples of India is traceable to that “Frontier policy,” the framing of which rests so largely at the door of Lord Roberts and of the distinguished soldier who is the subject of this Memoir. But the impeachment of Rawlinson’s “policy” is not our present business.

Sir Henry Rawlinson figures in the front rank in everything he took in hand:—How did he attain that distinguished position,—what were the steps of that splendid career? The answer to these questions is, in brief, the theme of the present volume. Commencing his public life as a cadet, he eventually became the great man the world knows him to be; and the secret of his growth was that he was gifted with the faculty of seeing his opportunities, and knew how to turn them to the very best account in every land and position in which he chanced to find himself. No man of our time appears to have been better informed regarding every nook of the globe than he, but especially with that “ancient world” which constituted the limits of geographical knowledge in “the lands of the Bible,”—Egypt and Persia, Babylonia and Assyria, Palestine and Arabia, Greece and Rome. The story of his life embraces the period of our troubles with our neighbours, the numerous border tribes between India and Russia; and as he had himself much to do with our earlier and later Afghan wars, that story unfolds the events which led up to them: the work has, thus, a far-reaching political significance for all English patriots. And the story of a great man is that of the age in which he lived and of the names of the leading men of his day, especially of those who move in the same sphere with him. The present work, hence, derives no little of its interest from the allusions it contains to the leading military, political, and scientific movements of the century, and to leading statesmen, travellers, and

scientists,—all of whom are drawn into the story; for at some point or other their public career touched that of Rawlinson: they were all, in the nature of things, bound up together.

But we confess to some disappointment with this book. It might have been expected that the biography of so distinguished a man as Sir Henry Rawlinson would have been even more complete. So great a master should have had an equally masterly memorial. Most people will admit that 347 pages of large type is not too much space for the narrative of a life so full of important detail, thrilling adventure, and fruitful enterprise, as was that of Rawlinson, from the commencement to the close, of undertakings and discoveries of the very first importance to the nation, and as colossal as they were numerous. We make bold to say that no history of England that may be written in the future will be found satisfactory that fails to take account of Sir Henry Rawlinson as one of the makers of Empire. There is a fairly lengthy "introduction" by Lord Roberts: also a full table of contents and a good index such as places every name and detail in the volume easily within reach. The style of composition is certainly not classical; the sentences are, many of them, too long: here and there we find, of course, good exceptions; but, as a rule, verbosity prevails, while the specimens of Rawlinson's humour had much better been left out. The impression left on the mind is that the work was written in a hurry and amid distractions. Still, it will ever remain a monument of what one of our great men could do to our young men in all the departments of the country's service, as also reflect credit to the publishers who have brought out his distinguished brother's Memoir of him in a manner so worthy of their reputation.

B.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar*, by DR. FRITZ ROSEN. This handy and well-got-up book greatly facilitates the study of the Persian language, especially for Europeans desirous of learning that eminently elegant vehicle of human thought. It is a contribution of a help and advantage, not afforded before to students, both as regards the acquirement of the proper pronunciation of Persian and of its correct grammar. This utility would seem to apply mainly to the beginner, and, as Dr. Rosen himself modestly remarks, his grammar will be found useful to all travellers and residents in Persia, as well as in Baluchistan and Afghanistan, but it is not only this, but a great deal more. The appendix alone, it seems to us, will be of great value even to the more advanced students. Here, because of his protracted stay in Persia, Dr. Rosen has managed to furnish to Europeans a trustworthy list of the different ways of addressing persons of rank in Persia—a not unimportant matter in facilitating the friendly intercourse between the natives of that country and the foreign visitor. The work under notice is, indeed, excellent, couched in plain, and yet idiomatic, language and extremely well arranged. The dialogues are interesting and, indeed, throw considerable light on the habits of the traders, servants and guides with whom travellers or residents are likely to be thrown in contact. They afford the very best exercises that we have yet seen in

Persian for reading and for picking up useful words and expressions, which form a key to the mysteries of modern Persian, whilst preserving the classical tone, which is the "*cachet*" of good Persian. Extracts from the late Násruddin Shah's diaries, chiefly in Europe, accompany this model grammar, tales, etc., and a vocabulary concludes this excellent guide to the acquisition of Persian.

MIRZA MAHDI.

MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON.

7. *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, by T. RICE HOLMES ; fifth revised edition, with maps and plans. A work that reaches its fifth edition in fifteen years stands in little need of recommendation ; such a success says all that is necessary respecting the quality and theme of the work. It is evidently one the public will read. The reader needs only to be informed as to the particulars in which the latest issue of such a work differs from those that preceded it. This may best be indicated in the author's own words :—"The structure of the work remains unchanged, and only such alterations have been made as appeared necessary." He refers to correction of inaccuracies and to make clear obscure narratives of military operations, the omission of a few superfluous sentences, the addition of what was wanting, and the reconsideration of judgments. Among the alterations are those which relate to the Afghan war, the battle of Sacheta, the defence of the Lucknow Residency, the battle of Chinhat, Havelock's campaign, Lord Canning's Oudh Proclamation, and the vexed question of Sir Colin Campbell's responsibility for the protraction of the war. On the whole, the text is enlarged by about twenty pages, and several new appendices, forming, in all, one handy volume of some 650 pages. In view of more voluminous works on the subject already existing, the author explains that his object has not been to write a short or popular history, but simply to write the best history he could, to record everything worthy to be remembered, to explain the characters of the chief actors in the struggle, what they and the opponents suffered, and to ascertain the causes of the Mutiny and how the civil population bore themselves during its progress ; and thus does Mr. Holmes make out the *raison d'être* of his undertaking. The "causes of the Mutiny," an important and ever-recurring question, he traces in great measure to the general feeling of dissatisfaction with British administration and to a certain want of good understanding in the Indian army between the Native soldiers and their English officers. For all his statements Mr. Holmes gives in footnotes his authorities,—published works and private documents and letters : this greatly enhances the value of the book for the purposes of historic inquiry. There is a very full table of contents and a good index. The Indian Mutiny is a subject of perennial interest for all men, English or Foreign, who are interested in the growth and prestige of the British Empire, and especially among military men, statesmen, and the non-official classes of English-speaking peoples in all lands ; and the work of Mr. Holmes is undoubtedly a most valuable contribution to the history and analysis of that thrilling crisis. B.

8. *The "Citizen of India,"* by Mr. W. LEE WARNER. This is, indeed, *multum in parvo* and might, with advantage, be substituted in Government schools throughout India for some of the existing handbooks on its

history and geography. The work also sketches the interests and duties of an Indian citizen, and gives an account of Municipalities, the privileges of which are, however, now being reduced. The book abounds in wise comparisons between the old and the new Indian administration of public and communal affairs, and, in showing sympathy for the natives, leans towards a strong, though responsible, Government, whilst pointing out the actualities and future of "the citizen of India."

METHUEN AND CO.; LONDON.

9. *From Tonkin to India, by the Sources of the Irawadi.* By PRINCE HENRI D'ORLÉANS; translated by HAMLEY BENT, M.A. Mr. Bent has given an excellent translation of a most fascinating book, and Mr. G. Vuillier has enhanced its interest by his numerous illustrations of towns, rivers, market-places, pagodas, and the manners and customs of the various tribes and peoples whom the Prince and his party met in their twelve months' explorations of an almost unknown region. The plan of the expedition is told by the Prince himself. He says: "We turned our eyes farther north, where lay the hitherto unknown course of the Mekong in China. We felt that the work initiated by Lagrée and Francis Garnier ought to be continued by Frenchmen. Moreover our explorations in China, outside our own possessions, would enable us to gather information that should be of profit to the peaceful commercial expansion of our colonies. Once up there it would be idle to retrace our steps. When we should have ascended the valley of the Mekong as far as the point where the French missionaries had established themselves on the Thibetan-Chinese frontier, we should only have to turn to the left and reach India." The Prince details what he saw in a pleasing and graphic manner, and has given very valuable information for future travellers and those who may be interested in commercial pursuits with China. There are important appendices by M. Émile Roux, naval officer, one of the Prince's party, containing Lists and Discussions of Scientific Observations, also contributions on Natural History of Mammals, Birds, Lepidoptera, and Plants, also Vocabularies, Maps, and a general Index. The printing and paper are of the finest description.

H. S. NICHOLS; LONDON, 1898.

10. *The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayām: A Facsimile of the MS. in the Bodleian Library*, translated and edited by E. HERON ALLEN. This work, which has been brought out with all the elegance and finish that characterize the publications of Mr. Nichols, will be specially welcome to those who do not know Persian and do not much care to know its true spirit. The thinnest gold thread is beaten out into a portentous volume of 286 pages, made up of a photographed facsimile of a small Persian manuscript, with an introduction of another 42. Then comes a transcript of the same in modern Persian print, with a literal translation (of a most prosaic character); the same translation separately and a bibliography—all this of a Bodleian original of 158 quatrains of Umr Khayyam, when about 800\* are ascribed

\* Whinfield's edition contains 253 quatrains; Nicolas', 464; Muhammad Sadik Ali's nearly 800 quatrains, etc.

to that famous poet and astronomer. Mr. Heron Allen, after apparently 14 years' study of the 158 quatrains ascribed to Omar Khayyám, who constantly alternated between cynicism and sentiment, would render the first letter with which that name begins as a soft "gh" (see the phonetic confusion displayed on page xl). This would make it impossible for Shíahs on the invocation of a blessing on the detested Khalifa "U'mar" in Sunni mosques, to substitute for it tacitly a word for "ass" which rhymes with "U'mar," as we think the name ought to be spelt. Pages are devoted to an almost arrogant correspondence with the patient Professor Cowell and others regarding Edward Fitzgerald, whose genius immortalized a kindred spirit in England, where we hope that "the Umar Khayyam School" will continue to flourish with the same fervour as hitherto and with a greater knowledge of the Persian Poet than this last translation possesses. Persia is full of "quatrains" or "Ruba'yyát" ascribed to the satirist and self-torturer, whom Allen's version, or perversion, has now practically made contemptible in this country, just as U'mar's scepticism renders his praise a danger in a home of "believers" like Persia. Indeed, U'mar is not considered to be one of the great poets of Irán, any more than the humorist Swift is regarded in England as being equal to Shakespeare or Milton. It is Hafiz and Sadi that occupy the rank in Persia. U'mar's name is mentioned and his poetry quoted in gatherings of Sûfis or at the inner convivialities of "the fashion" under its breath, for who would dare openly to avow himself an admirer of the departed "boon companion"? "To" U'mar are attributed profane verses from his reputation as a sceptic in Persia, thus following the practice of ascribing fables "to" Lokman and proverbs "to" Solomon. Now if there are, as we believe, more than 800 quatrains fathered on U'mar Khayyam, there is no doubt that, when he unbent after his scientific work, he scattered about verses in the various humours, tender and cruel, hopeful and despairing, believing and denying, in which he might happen to be at the time. He rarely wrote them down, but they were quoted from memory by his fellow-revellers, whether, as Sûfis, in the critical spirit, or as presumptuous or exhausted *bons vivants* in "good cheer." Many of his "ham piále, ham nivále," who shared the same cup and the same talk, were also not sterile in capping or following the lucubrations of their master, the nodding Homer, and so we have a mass of irreverent quatrains under the convenient, or generic, name of "U'mar." All of these ought to be collected, and arranged according to the various subjects they refer to, and, above all, the spirit and type, if not the metre, of the Persian poetry should be maintained in the translation. Instead of this, we have here a limping literal translation worthy only of the valet's imitation of his master and the verses, both fair and foul, thrown about higgledy-piggledy, "without rhyme or reason," so as to pull down to the level of a common drunkard and sneerer the great philosopher and "scientific" luminary whom Heron Allen's too "literal" translation degrades. And let it also be laid down that without a thorough study of the substance and history of "Sufism," including its branches and aberrations, the "tasawwuf" of U'mar's quatrains will never be understood. A slavish literal translation from any language into another is often, if not generally,

absurd, and only worthy as an exercise for a schoolboy who wishes to pass an examination. "The immortal Williams," literally translated into French, is not Shakespeare, nor are the literal translations from the Classics, that men like Clapperton attempted, worthy of their originals. A "literal translation" is only the elementary step that should precede the final conception of their full meaning, and we hope that Allen's "version" or rendering will only have been the town-crier of the advent of a sympathetic and refined (and, for that very reason, alone correct) translation. One of the best quatrains in this book, so worthy of the printer's and binder's art, is :

"So far as in thee lies, cause no pain to anyone,  
Nor cause anyone to suffer from thy wrath.  
If thou hast a desire for eternal peace  
Fret thyself always and harass no one."

Yet it does *not* echo the true Persian ring of the following rendering :

"As much as thou art able, refrain from grieving—*another*.  
Refrain from destroying the hopes of—*another*.  
If thou desirest peace eternal, vex thyself, but not—*another*."

Where in this collection is U'mar's supposed first verse, under a series of quatrains, on the illusive nature of life on earth and the vanity of its joys and griefs?—

"Thou hast beheld the world ; and all that thou hast seen is *naught* :  
All that thou hast spoken, all that thou hast heard is *naught*.  
Thou hast coursed through earth's regions end to end ;—'*'tis naught*.  
That, too, which thou hast treasured in thy house—'*'tis naught*."

And *where* do we find in the blown-out volume before us?—

"For the arrow by which death does slay, shields are of *no account* :  
A troop of lackeys, silver, gold—all is of *no account*.  
Much as I gaze upon this world's affairs, I only see  
That solely good is goodness, and all besides of *no account*."

No, poor U'mar must be rendered by Mr. Allen in all the common-place of the following, though it be really just as Sufistic as the famous :

"Oh, if that maid of Shiráz were to take my heart into her hand !  
For the black mole on her cheek I would give Bokhara and Samarcand."

(*From Mr. Allen's compilation*)

"We have returned to our wonted *débauch*,  
We have renounced—the Five Prayers !  
Wherever the goblet is, there thou mayst see us,  
Our necks stretched out like that of the bottle."

There was never, perhaps, a stronger case of "book-making," as distinguished from original authorship than this work, especially when Mr. Allen avows that his friend, Mr. Ross, went over "the literal translation" word by word. Then what remains of Mr. Allen's supposed Frankenstein, after deducting what the photographer, the printer and the corrector have done for him? Fitzgerald's adaptation of 75 quatrains had inspired a love of Persian literature in England, just as Rückert's version of Hariri stimulated Arabic studies in Germany, but Mr. Allen, to be next to the promoters of Oriental learning, destroys that growing cult by a literal translation which, to judge from the Press criticism, has completely disillusioned the British regarding U'mar Khayyám. Such labours, devoid of sympathy

with, and the spirit of, the original, do not deserve encouragement; they will not cost 14 years of preparation to give them the castigation which, we fear, a further analysis of this last and, in our opinion, least, translation must entail on the compiler. The true, intelligent and sympathetic translation of the *complete* U'mar Khayyam has yet to be written.

MR. D. NUTT; LONDON.

#### OUR "NATIONAL ANTHEM" IN FIFTY LANGUAGES

II. *The Imperial Souvenir*, devised and edited by H. A. SALMONÉ. It is no easy task to translate the patriotic songs of one nation into the language of another, and the difficulty is not lessened when it is sought to render in the foreign language not only the meaning but also the rhythm and metre of the original. We have had the opportunity of perusing the results of an enterprise undertaken by Professor Salmoné, which (according to the preface) aims at nothing less than enabling every subject of her Majesty the Queen Empress "to sing with heart and voice" the third verse of our "National Anthem" in *fifty* different languages. The translations are tastefully printed in a volume entitled "The Imperial Souvenir," which will surely form a necessary item in the outfit of every future traveller in Greater Britain. It will enable him to join a Dublin crowd in singing "God Save the Queen" in Irish Gaelic, nor will he be at a loss in the Highlands of Scotland or the Isle of Man. Even when he passes through foreign countries he can sing the same strain to Frenchmen, Italians, Spanish, Dutch, or Greek. And if he goes to Africa or India, or even to the Mauritius, he will never fail to join in the loyal tune with the correct dialect. The question, however, does arise, whether the versions inserted in the "Imperial Souvenir" will be adopted by the people for whose benefit they are written. If they are not, our traveller will be no better off than he was before. Judging by the versions in the languages with which we have some acquaintance, we doubt whether this result will be obtained. The Arabic and Hindustani versions are specially defective.

To take the Arabic rendering first, of which language the compiler of the "Imperial Souvenir" is a Professor. Although a native of Syria, whose vernacular is Arabic, the fact of his being a Christian does not add to his Arabic scholarship, which is pre-eminently Muhammadan, though Christians like Yaziji and Khalil form exceptions to the rule. In his Dictionary, for instance, the well-known meaning of a "Sharif" in Islām is not given.

The *facile princeps* among English Arabists, Dr. M. S. Howell, comments on Salmoné's rendering as follows:

##### *English original.*

"Thy choicest gifts in store  
On her be pleased to pour,  
Long may she reign;  
May she defend our Laws,  
And ever give us cause  
To sing with heart and voice,  
God save the Queen."

##### *Arabic version (in Roman characters).*

"'Bil'-jūdi wa'l'hilmi  
'Ughmur wa kī wa'hmi,  
Fictūdia;  
Wa mulkahā shayyid,  
Wa 'adlahā ayyid,  
Ya Rab-banas' Sayyid,  
Kun wākīyā."

"These lines are dreadful doggerel. In matters of grammar I object to :

"(1) <sup>عَدَوَات</sup> اَظْمَر for <sup>عَدَوَات</sup> اَظْمَر, a bad license, which occurs sometimes in poetry, as in the second verse cited on p. 332 (Part I.) of my grammar ; but may here be avoided by inserting a redundant ف, as in the verse cited on p. 209, where the ف in <sup>عَدَوَات</sup> فَاجْزِئِي is redundant, as explained in the notes (p. 61 A) and on p. 485 (Part III.) of my Grammar.

"(2) The use of ق as a long syllable, which is indefensible ; if there were a pause here, قَه would be necessary, and would save the metre.

"(3) The placing of the adverbial clause <sup>عَدَوَات</sup> بِالْجُودِ وَالْحَم before the first of the three verbs, اَظْمَر, ق, and اَحْم, which contest the government of فَكْتُوْبِيَا (why not وَكْتُوْرِيَا ?), thus extending its effect to the other two verbs ; whereas, if اَظْمَر بِالْجُودِ وَالْحَم وَقِ الْغ were said, the adverbial clause would be restricted, as the sense requires, to اَظْمَر."

An eminent native Arabic scholar writes as follows :

"The translation into English of the 'Imperial Souvenir's' Arabic is :

" 'Cover (her) entirely with (Thy) generosity and clemency,  
And preserve and protect Victoria,  
And her kingdom strengthen and her justice confirm ;  
O God our Lord  
Be (her) Guard.' "

"The above is a precise re-translation of the Arabic, word for word, so if one would compare it with the verse composed in English, it will be found far from being a translation of it. I put the translation in English in a style corresponding with Arabic more than it is with English, in order to make the translation as precise and clear as it could be."

As for the English re-translation of the HINDUSTANI (Urdu), Muhammad ibn Abdullah of Jaunpur, N.W.P., India, gives the following as its real meaning :

"O God ! with blessing bestow on her abundantly.  
May her kingdom last for ever.  
May she rule lawfully with respect, so that the  
Subjects may pray, ' May she live immortally.' "

The Persian, by Sir Frederick Goldsmid, is the best in the "Souvenir" :

*The Translation of the Persian into English.*

"By Thy grace, O Merciful, upon her head shower glory.

May her reign continue.

(May she) be our refuge, so that we all (head and foot) may sing with a melodious voice,

'God be Her guardian.' "

Mr. G. E. Ward, late Commissioner of Jaunpur, N.W.P., has favoured us with the following learned note on the HINDUSTANI (Urdu) and HINDI translations of the third verse of "God Save the Queen" :



"Neither of the translations can be said to be accurate representations of the original; nor are they free from ambiguity. The word 'bakhsh' in the second line of the Hindustani translation may mean 'Forgive' or 'Pardon.' And the two last lines may mean, 'Let her remain standing until (her) people bless her!' as well as 'So that (her) people may utter the prayer, "Let her remain established!"' In the Hindi version the Almighty is asked somewhat familiarly to *give* the Queen *His blessing*; the same word being used as when a man begs a blessing of a Brahmin, or gives him a salutation. The literal translation of the last four lines is '(May she be) well advised in royal matters, of good conduct over (? towards) her people! Do Thou always preserve her life, oh Almighty!'

"But it is not so much the wording as the metre of the translations which makes them unfit to be sung to the music of 'God Save the Queen.' In neither of them has the slightest regard been paid to Indian prosody and pronunciation. In the Hindustani translation the line 'Kare wuh hukûmat' (the vernacular has been wrongly transliterated 'karae') is composed of two cretics, | - - - | - - - |; the next line, 'Kānūnan bā izzat,' of two molossi, | - - - | - - - |; and the third line, 'Du'ā de tā khilqat,' of a cretic and a molossus, - - - | - - - |; whereas in the English rhythm each line ought to be composed of a molossus and an amphimacer, or two spondees and an iambus, | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - |.

"Again, in the refrain, the final long syllable of the English line is represented by the words 'dāim' and 'kāim.' There are no such words in Hindustani as *dāim* and *kāim* (rhyming with the English word *time*); but if there were, they would have in Hindustani poetry (and especially in song) the value of a trochee | - - - | (just as in French songs a long syllable, followed by an ordinarily mute *e*, is sounded as a dissyllable). The words, however, are 'dā-im' and 'kā-im,' having the prosodical value of spondees, so that each of the lines in which they occur are of five syllables, the four last being long. It is evident that they do not fit the rhythm of the music, which consists of only four notes. In the HINDI version, the scanning of the second line (which is intended to represent two spondees and an iambus) is really - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |, and the scanning of the following triplet is:

"1. - - - | - - - | - - - |

"2. - - - | - - - | - - - |

"3. - - - | - - - | - - - |

whereas each line, in order to suit the English metre and music, should be equal to

and no more."

In the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of April, 1893, appears a paper by Dr. G. W. Leitner on "Oriental Translations of English Texts," which, *inter alia*, deals with both the correct, and the incorrect, Hindustani (Urdu) translations of our "National Anthem." Those curious to see the linguistic vagaries indulged in the translation of the Hymn since the matter was taken up by the "London National Anthem Society" as "a gift to India," to cost several thousand pounds, cannot do better than consult the

real Urdu versions, many of exquisite beauty, by native Indian poets of eminence at a prize-examination held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Panjab at Lahore many years ago. (The translation to which the Prize had been awarded was published in our issue of January 1893.—ED.)

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

12. *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East.* Transcribed from the "Original Correspondence" Series of the India Office Records. Vol. II., 1613-1615. Published under the patronage of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. There can be no question as to the Imperial importance of preserving these old documents. They help to show the gradual growth of our Empire in the East; and in doing so they rescue from oblivion many an incident and many a name that had an important share in founding British commerce and creating for us our Colonies from the Cape eastwards.

These documents are printed with all the literary characteristics of the age to which they belonged. We light upon many apocryphal ways of transliterating Oriental names; thus, "Mukarrab Khán" is everywhere "Mocrob Chan": and doubtless it is to such early corruptions that we owe such words as "Cawnpore," "Broach," and many others that seem now to be permanently fixed. Our friends the "stowaways" were also abroad in those days, but were not known under this comparative euphuism; they were designated "lurkers" and "sharkers": the work is a mine of such "curiosities of literature." To meet the difficulty which often arises from this peculiarity in the documents, there is a glossary at the end: the index, also, gives *both* the forms of proper names—the corrupted and the correct. The work further exhibits the English of those times in matters of orthography, idiom, official and business correspondence. Some of the "letters" form most interesting reading, and each has its number,—those in the present volume from 124 to 236. They contain, *inter alia*, interesting allusions to the early history of the Jesuits in connection with India, China, and Japan. The volume is but an additional tribute to the indomitable pluck of our "old sea dogs" of the period of the Tudors and the Stuarts, which did so much to win for us a commercial and maritime reputation.

E. PLON, RUE GARANCIÈRE 10, PARIS.

13. *On the Niger and the Country of the Touaregs—The Hourst Mission*, by the Naval Lieutenant HOURST, with 190 illustrations, and a map (on the course of the Niger between Timbuctu and Bussa—the *crux* of the pending question). The political side of this admirable work of 479 pages, written in a spirit of moderation by the talented author, and brought out by the eminent French publishers, Messrs. E. Plon, Nourrit and Co., in the most perfect style, is considered elsewhere in this Review in Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne's masterly, complete, and dispassionate paper on "France and England in West Africa," a communication of the highest value in the present conjuncture of affairs in that part of the world. We reserve the review of the mass of literary gems of Lieutenant Hourst's

standard work to another issue. No one really wishing to understand the Niger imbroglio and the country of the, once, almost legendary knights of the Sahara, the Touaregs, so interesting from every point of view, should be without this *magnum opus* of Lieutenant Hourst.

WALTER SCOTT; LONDON, 1898.

14. *Sunny Memories of an Indian Winter*, by SARA H. DUNN, author of "The World's Highway." Books of travels written by ladies are always interesting. Their faculty for patiently gathering up details and grouping the results of their observation, renders the writing of such books a peculiarly fitting task in their hands—and when a woman happens to possess the literary faculty at all, her power of graphic and subtle description is a guarantee for effective work. The story now before us corresponds so completely to these remarks, that we have no hesitation in saying that when once one has fairly begun reading it he will find it difficult to lay it down till he has reached to the last page. For India is a wonderful theme; and though it is a land where Britons "groan," yet English people who for many years have resided there, feel a strange hankering to go back again. None, Burton tells us, who have ever revelled in the free, pure air of the Arabian Desert, have any fancy for the dank, diseased atmosphere of a European city. It is something of this feeling that haunts the Anglo-Indian in his retirement: he lives the old life over again. It is a strange fascination, when one recalls the extreme personal inconvenience which prolonged residence in India in most cases involves. While reading this book it is almost impossible to keep down that "lump" which *will* rise in the throat.

In fourteen well-written chapters (not so learned as to be dry, nor so "thin" as to be gossipy) the authoress leads us from city to city, from plain to hill, and from end to end of that dreamy continent; and it is safe to say very few objects of historic interest worth knowing anything about have escaped her notice.

What we have said will help to show that the interest which Mrs. Dunn seeks to awaken in regard to India has to do rather with the work of man than with the work of God,—she calls attention not so much to the natural scenery and geographical features of the land, as to the evident proofs everywhere visible of a great political and artistic past: not that she is silent regarding the fauna and flora of the land, of the social conditions of the native people, and of the manner the European exile passes his existence there. But she has an eye to Art and to History, and she manifests a very happy capacity of blending, in her narrative, information on all subjects and from all directions. Her book is not a mere guide-book for the cold-weather visitor, still less is it the catch-penny story of the quidnunc globe-trotter.

As might have been expected in a work printed in England, there are many misprints in the Indian words given in this book. We may instance "Paneh Kose" (on p. 110) for "Panch-Kosi," and "loque" (p. 46) for "logue." And there are some other mistakes for which the English printer must not be held responsible; such as "chuddahs" (p. 82),

"Khabgar" (p. 124), "Auk Michauli" (p. 125), "Rukia" (p. 128), "Musulmani" (p. 127) and "Sunābra" on that same page, and "Saurup" (on p. 189); while "callad" (p. 192) is evidently an oversight of the proof-reader. But it could not be expected that any author should write correctly the words in *all* the languages of that polyglot country. As a new edition will doubtless soon be printed, Mrs. Dunn will know what to do with the corrections we have taken the liberty of indicating. The representation of the "Flight into Egypt," found at Oodeypore, alluded to on p. 185, appears to be but another of the many curious sculptural evidences of the introduction of the story of Christianity into India at a very early period of the present era, and of its having found acceptance there among the native people, in some sort.

Mrs. Dunn has descriptive power of a very high order, and fine taste in the choice of words, as the following sentence will show:—"Before the exceeding loveliness of Dilwara's temples one sits feeling helpless and diminished, and searching for words forcible and vivid enough in which to speak of their beauty" (p. 201). We have not discovered as much as a single slipshod or hurriedly-written sentence in the whole book. Her style of English is chaste and fascinating in a high degree, and her sentences, while charged with fact, are tremulous with energy; and yet she writes without the least self-consciousness and apparently without effort. The book should be read by all young people who think of seeking in that "land of regrets" their future career.

B.

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J. J. WEBER; LEIPZIG.

15. *China and Japan: being the Travels, Studies, and Observations in these Countries of Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg*. At the present moment, when the Far East has become of all-absorbing interest to Europe, and China specially so, for she threatens to be a very apple of discord between four great Western Powers, who at no distant period may unite to divide this vast empire, anything published about China and Japan must needs command or attract our attention.

Herr Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's *China and Japan* has appeared at an opportune moment, and is a most valuable contribution to the many extant works on these countries. A man of culture, who has travelled much in the East, and is well-known in Germany as also in England by his previous travels, chiefly by his book on Corea, is eminently fitted to record his impressions of these two countries, and to give his opinions about them. His book, which is beautifully got up, well printed, and with charming illustrations, is divided into two parts—the first part dealing with China and the second with Japan—and is brimful of matter. The style he writes in is pleasant and clear, and there is not a single chapter devoid of interest or tedious to the reader. He has the gift to describe what he has seen so vividly, that one fancies one's self at the very place and scene, and seeing it all with one's own eyes. For instance, his description of his first dinner-party at a Chinese gentleman's house, of the present Emperor Kwang Eu's wedding with the fair Princess Yah-ho-na-la, and the worship of the Imperial ancestors (spirit meals) at Tian-Tian temple of Heaven, etc.

Herr Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg is an acute observer of men and their manners, and whilst travelling through the length and breadth of China and staying at the most important towns on the coast and inland, he made good use of his time and opportunities to note down everything he saw, and has thus been able to gather and collect a vast amount of information on all sorts and conditions of men, from the Emperor down to the beggar in the narrow streets of Canton. His chapters on the government, laws, institutions, civil and military organizations of the country, its education, literature, industry, and commerce, and the social life and customs, and religious beliefs of the Chinese are highly interesting. Although in these days of travel nothing he describes is quite new, still the subjects he deals with in China, and his opinions about them are worth attention. Herr Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's judgment is sound, though not very profound, in most matters, and he is fairly free from prejudice and cant, except where from excessive patriotism—a true Teuton of the Teutons—he views things from the standpoint of utility to Germany. The welfare and prosperity of China and Japan are of but little account to him when they come into conflict with German interests and her commercial expansion. At the end of his chapter on the persecution of Christians in China he says: "Christian love will never open an Eastern port or country to Europeans—it must be done by might. The Eastern Powers are like oysters, they must be forcibly opened by men-of-war blockading their harbours, then they will die and can easily be swallowed by us Europeans." This certainly is the gospel of expediency with a vengeance. He also thinks that the Germans made a great mistake in allowing the Japanese to look over all their factories, arsenals, foundries, etc. Wide-awake and go-ahead as the Japanese are, they started similar factories at once and imitated German goods so well, that they can not only compete favourably with Germany in the Eastern markets, but can afford to undersell, labour being ever so much cheaper in Japan. Herr Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg says that the Japanese are universally hated, not only by the Chinese and other peoples of the East, but also by the Europeans living in those countries. He himself does not share this antipathy, and looks upon the Japanese as a nation ever so much superior in every way to the Chinese. But all the same, he does not wish them to compete with German trade in the East and get it all into their own hands, to the loss and disadvantage of Germany. About Japan itself—this fairyland of lovely scenery and flowers, exquisite art and charming little women—he, like every traveller before him, cannot say and rave enough. What a contrast from pompous China, whose people are tied down by old customs and traditions, and the observance of innumerable ceremonies, and take themselves by far too seriously to come to ever-joyous and bright Japan! It is like senility and youth—one sober, sedate, and stationary, and the other full of life, fun, and also growth and progress. Herr Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg predicts for Japan the same powerful position in the Far East as England is occupying in Europe by her trade and commercial enterprises.

We can recommend this book to all interested in the East, and feel sure they will derive both pleasure as well as profit from perusing it. If not

translated into English yet, we hope no time will be lost to make it accessible by translations for those who do not know German. Such an important work, dealing as it does with China and Japan's present and future, ought not to be left untranslated.

E. A.

### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books which want of space prevents our noticing at greater length in the present number:

*Report of the United States National Museum, 1893 and 1894.* This is contained in two large volumes, one for the year ending June 30, 1893, and the other for the year ending June 30, 1894. Both books are divided into two parts. Part I. of each book treats of the development, organization, scope, and work of the Museum, the special topics of the year, and a review of the works of the scientific departments, and their participation in the World's Columbia Exposition. Part II. is entirely devoted to papers describing and illustrating the collections in the Museum.—Also the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution up to July, 1895.* This volume comprises the proceedings of the Regents and the report of the Secretary (which is contained in 70 pages), the remaining 700 pages are devoted to the "general appendix," treating of 29 different subjects, of which we may specify—*The Yellow Races*, by Dr. E. T. HAMY,—*Compulsory Migrations in the Pacific Ocean*, by OTTO SITTING,—*Race and Civilization*, by Professor FLINDERS PETRIE,—*The Japanese Nation*, by GARDINER HUBBARD,—and *Huxley and His Works*, by THEODORE GILL. These volumes are, like their predecessors, superbly and profusely illustrated, and provide a varied and vast fund of information. (Washington: U.S.A. Government Printing Office.)

*A Map to Illustrate the Chinese Question.* This is a clear and well-constructed map, showing the harbours and ports which Russia and Germany desire to obtain in China and Korea, and their relative positions to Japan. (W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London.)

*The Australian Handbook (incorporating New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea) for 1898.* (Gordon and Gotch, London, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Perth and Cape Town.) A full and accurate repertory of the Australasian Colonies, giving most useful and up-to-date information with respect to commerce, the position and present condition of the several Colonies,—valuable to shippers, importers, capitalists and emigrants,—with well-executed maps, plans of towns and harbours, and a copious and complete index. There are also important tables showing the growth of Australasia since 1861, and the draft of a Bill for Federation.

*An Official Handbook of Information relating to the Dominion of Canada, 1897.* Published with the approval of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Government of Canada (Department of the Interior). (Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1897.) This is a beautifully illustrated and in every way well-got-up publication, giving full and authentic information with reference to Canada. It is also accompanied by an excellent map.

*India in 1897*, by the enlightened Parsi reformer, BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI, recalls such a picture of Indian calamities—plague, famine, war—during that year, and of Government success and failures in meeting them, that the consideration of the facts so impartially and kindly narrated by the author, and the valuable suggestions he makes for the future removal of certain administrative restrictions, are well deserving the favourable attention of the authorities.

Nothing can exceed the utility of *Constable's Hand-Gazetteer of India*, compiled under the direction of J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S., and edited

with additions by JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E. (A. Constable and Co., Westminster, 1898.)

We have received a valuable book on the famous Arabic theologian (of the orthodox 4th Sunni School), Imam *Ahmed ibn Hanbal*, which also gives an account of the Muhammadan Inquisition, called the *Mihna*, that lasted from 218 to 234 A.H., and that might be, in some respects, compared with the Spanish Inquisition. The work is by Professor W. M. Patton, and deserves more space and more exhaustive treatment than we can bestow on such an important subject in this issue. (It is published by E. J. Brill, Leide, 1897.)

*Osmanli Proverbs and Quaint Sayings*, 4,300 sentences in Turkish, printed in Roman characters, with English translations, explanations, and a guide to the pronunciation. The Turkish original is also given as an appendix. By the Rev. E. J. DAVIS, M.A. (London: Sampson Low and Co.) We must reserve the review of this work, so valuable to the student of Turkish and the folk-lorists generally, to another issue, in which we hope to be able to render justice alike to the Oriental original and its transliteration, as also to its translation of some of the quaintest proverbs and sayings which probably exist.

*A Literary History of India*, by R. W. FRAZER, LL.B. (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1898.) We similarly postpone, with regret, to another issue, a review on Frazer's excellent "Literary History of India," including the early bards, the elder and newer deities, Brahminism, Buddhism, etc., with its chapter on the epics, the drama, and the interesting excursus on "the foreigner in the land." The portion referring to the treatment of the Sikh Scriptures, by Dr. Trumpp, is dealt with in this very issue, whilst the fusing point of old and new, which is the last chapter of the book under notice, will probably open the door to much controversy.

Finally, we must postpone the review of an admirable work on *Sport in the Highlands of Kashmir*, by H. Z. DARRAH, I.C.S. (Rowland Ward, 166, Piccadilly, 1898.) It is a narrative of an eight months' trip in Middle and Little Tibet, and a lady's experiences in the latter country, together with hints for sportsmen.

We acknowledge also with thanks the receipt of the following:

*The Year Book of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial Information*, to which is added a chapter containing much special information respecting the Canadian, Yukon, and Northern Territory generally. (R. E. Gosnell, Librarian Legislative Assembly and Secretary Bureau Statistics, Victoria, B.C., 1897.) An extremely useful book, giving a mine of information regarding this important province. It includes, amongst many other subjects, a historical review, an account of its Indians, physical characteristics, forest wealth, fisheries, agriculture, mines, trades, and finances, besides information about the Yukon gold fields. Two large maps accompany it, and it is embellished by many fine illustrations.

*The Risings on the North-West Frontier*. (Allahabad: Printed and published at the Pioneer Press, 1898.) This is a complete narrative, with specially prepared maps, of the various risings of the Frontier tribes in the Tochi Valley, the Swat Valley, the country of the Mohmands and Mamunds, and the countries of the Afridis and Orakzais and of the several punitive campaigns undertaken against these tribes, as well as the two minor expeditions sent against the Utman Khels and the Bunerwals, the whole covering a period extending from June, 1897, to the end of January, 1898.

*Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1894-95, by J. W. POWELL, Director. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897.) This is an interesting volume, the review of which we defer till our next issue.

*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, "continuing Hebraica." Vol. XIV., No 2, January, 1898. (The University of

Chicago Press, Chicago, U.S.A.; Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London; K. F. Köhler's Antiquarium, Kurprinzstrasse, 6, Leipzig.)

*Rapport sur les Travaux de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences en 1896*, présenté par le Secrétaire-Général C. SZILY. (Budapest: L'Académie Hongroise des Sciences.)

*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IV., No. 5. (Bombay: The Education Society's Press, Byculla; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., London.)

*Practical Hints on Writing for the Press*, by JOSEPH B. LAMB. (London: Bradbury, Agnew and Co., Limited, Bouverie Street.)

*Gramatica di Nuove-Roman, Lingua Universal*, inventat e construit par Professor J. PUCHNER. (Published by the Editor, Professor Puchner, Linz, s/ Danubio, Austria.)

*The Bechuana Troubles: A Story of Paganism, Slave-making, and Slave-making in a British Colony*, by H. R. FOX-BORLASS. (London: P. S. King and Son, 12 and 14, King Street, Westminster, S.W.)

*Officer, Artist, and Miner*. (Liverpool: British Gospel Book Association. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9, Paternoster Row.)

*Public Speeches of Babu Srish Chandra Bosu Sarvadhikari*, published by public subscription. Second edition. (Calcutta: Nababibhakar Press, 63/3, Machooa Bazar Road, 1897.)

*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, for the Year ending 30th June, 1897*. (Bombay: Government Central Press.)

*Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, comprising also maps of parts of Asia and of the New World connected with European History, edited by R. L. POOLE, M.A., PH.D. Part XV., containing Map 27, Scotland; Map 61, the Ecclesiastical Organization of the Spanish Peninsula; and Map 78, Western Asia under the Mohammedan Dynasties, c. 970 and c. 1070 A.D. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and New York, Henry Frowde, M.A.; Edinburgh, W. and A. K. Johnston, 1898.)

*The Story of Hawaii*, by JEAN A. OWEN (Mrs. Visger). (Harpers, London and New York.)

*Banani, the Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Zanzibar and Pemba*, by HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN. (London, Headley Bros.; Westminster, the Orphans' Printing Press.)

*Klondyke: Truth and Facts of the New El Dorado*, by A. E. IRON-MONGER SOLA. (London: The Mining and Geographical Institute, Broad Street House, E.C.)

As we are going to press we have received for review *The Principles of the Law of Sedition*, with an appendix, giving the law in India as it was and as amended, by J. CHANDHURI, which seems to be a very complete and convincing exposition of the subject, a full notice of which we are obliged to defer to our next issue.

*The Assemblies of Al-Hariri*, translated from the Arabic, with an introduction and notes (historical and grammatical), by THOMAS CHENERY, M.A., Vol. I., containing the first twenty-six assemblies (Williams and Norgate, London and Leipzig);—and *Oriental Translation Fund*, new series III., *The Assemblies of Al Hariri*, translated from the Arabic, with notes (historical and grammatical), by Dr. F. STEINGASS; prefaced and indexed by F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.; Vol. II., containing the last twenty-four assemblies. (Printed and published under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society, and sold at 22, Albemarle Street, London, 1898.) For want of space we are unable to insert a review of the above important work, but we shall have pleasure in doing so in a future issue.

*Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, by WALTER E. ROTH, B.A. Oxon, etc., with 438 illustrations.



(Brisbane : By authority, E. Gregory, Government printer, William Street.  
London : Queensland Agent-General's Office, Westminster Chambers, 1,  
Victoria Street, 1897.)

We regret that the reviews of the following works had to be, for want of space, unavoidably postponed to our July issue :

*The Literary Year-Book* 1898, edited by J. JACOBS. *The Bible References of John Ruskin*, by M. and E. Gibbs (G. Allen, London). *The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*, by PROF. BURROWS. *Side-Lights on Siberia*, by J. Y. SIMPSON (Wm. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London). *Our Troubles in Poona and Deccan*, by A. CRAWFORD (A. Constable and Co., London). *A Modern Pilgrim in Jerusalem*, by J. ROOKER (Christian Knowledge Society). *Japan and the Japan Mission* (Church Missionary Society, London). *Under the Dragon Flag*, by JAMES ALLEN (W. Heinemann, London). *A Photogravure of Mr. S. Berkeley's Picture of Gordon Highlanders at Dargai* (Hobbs, London). *Indian Frontier Warfare*, by CAPT. J. YOUNGHUSBAND (Kegan Paul, London). *The Story of South Africa*, by B. VORSFOLD (Horace Marshall and Son, London). *South Africa of To-day*, by CAPT. J. YOUNGHUSBAND (Macmillan and Co., London). *The Downfall of Prempeh*, by MAJOR R. S. S. BADEN POWELL (Methuen and Co., London). *The Early History of the Hebrews*, by REV. A. H. SAYCE (Rivingtons, London). *The Bible and Islam*, by H. B. SMITH, D.D. (James Nisbet and Co., London). *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, by A. CRAWFORD (The Roxburghe Press, London). *Hausaland*, by the REV. C. H. ROBINSON. *The Invasion of Egypt in A.D. 1249 by Louis IX. of France*, etc., by the REV. E. I. DAVIS. *Indian Village Folk*, by T. B. PANDIAN (Elliot Stock, London). *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand*, by T. M. HÖCKEN (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London). *The Anti-Christian Crusade*, by R. P. C. COOFE (Simpkin Marshall, London). *A Journey through South Africa*, by E. EDWARDS (C. Tinling and Co., Liverpool). *The Nicetical Christ*, by S. H. PLAYFAIR (W. H. White and Co., Edinburgh).

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of : *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* ;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.) ;—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris) ;—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels) ;—*The Minerva* (Rome) ;—*The Contemporary Review* (London : Isbister and Co.) ;—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.) ;—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris : Rue St. Simon) ;—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris) ;—*The American Weekly, Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York) ;—*Journal of the Society of Arts* (London) ;—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris) ;—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing *Hebraica* (Chicago, Ill. : The University of Chicago Press) ;—*The Canadian Gazette* (London) ;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London : A. Constable and Co.) ;—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris) ;—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris : Hachette) ;—From Geo. Newnes, London : the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*,—the three last numbers of *The Navy and Army*, and the first numbers of *The Wide World*, and *The Ladies' Field*, and *The Citizens Atlas*. The last Quarter's "SANSKRIT JOURNAL" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—One of the points on which a good deal of criticism has been expended regarding the conduct of the operations in the Tirah country is the attack on Dargai heights, and which involved the heaviest losses in any one action during the campaign. Sir W. Lockhart's despatch, published at the time in the newspapers, in his observation on the Dargai action, whilst acknowledging the successes obtained by General Kempster and the late General Yeatman-Biggs, said that the operation was not carried out in the manner he had intended and indicated. The heroic conduct of the Gordon Highlanders, as the most brilliant exploit of the Tirah campaign, will, however, never be forgotten, and the achievements of the Goorkhas and Sikhs, as also the exposure without cover, of the Derbys and Dorsets, are deserving of every praise.

At the end of December, an expedition personally conducted by General Sir W. Lockhart, consisting of the 1st Division of the Tirah Field Force under Major General Symons, composed of Generals Gaselee's and Hart's brigades, proceeded in two columns to the Bazar valley to punish the Zakka Khel Afridis. They went through Kuremna, Burg, Chora, Walai and China, our loss being six killed, and seventeen wounded during the four days that the expedition lasted.

Simultaneously with the entry of the 1st Division into the Bazar Valley, the Peshawar column under General Hammond reoccupied the Khaibar Pass up to Landi Kotal. The only opposition encountered was from the Zakka Khels, who attacked the Oxfordshire regiment whilst on convoy duty; the latter found themselves in a deep nullah exposed to a heavy fire and suffered the loss of several killed and wounded, amongst the latter being Captain Parr and Lieut. Owen.

Every Afridi and Orakzai valley was thus visited, and their defences and habitations razed to the ground.

On the 29th January, a serious disaster befell a British column in the Bazar Valley. The column, which was drawn from General Westmacott's brigade, was moving in combination with three others to capture some Afridi herds and herdsmen on the Kajurai Plain, when it became entangled in a defile near Shin Kamar, and was attacked by the tribesmen, suffering severely, five officers (including Colonel Houghton of the 36th Sikhs) being killed,\* and two wounded, and twenty-two men of the Yorkshire Light Infantry killed, seventeen wounded. A force under General Westmacott advanced two days later to the Shin Kamar Pass, which was occupied without loss, and twenty-two bodies recovered.

In response to General Lockhart's ultimatum, all the terms imposed upon the Afridi sections have been accepted, and the Kuki and Kambar Khels have given seventy hostages.

The Bunerwals, who had shown an extreme spirit of hostility during the attack on the Malakand last July, and also at Landaki, were called upon to comply with the following terms: (1) A representative *jirgah* to make

\* Their names are recorded in our Obituary.

complete submission ; (2) the restoration of all Government property ; (3) the surrender of 600 guns ; and (4) the payment of a fine of Rs. 11,500. Simultaneously, the Chamlawals were ordered to surrender 100 guns, to pay a fine of Rs. 1,500, and hand in 100 swords and standards from Koga and Nawagai. On the tribes refusing these terms, an expedition under the command of General Sir Bindon Blood, consisting of two brigades under the command of Brig.-General Meiklejohn and Brig.-General Jeffreys and troops from the Malakand Field Force, proceeded from Sanghao to the Tangao Pass, which was assaulted and taken without loss, and the Bunerwals promptly sent in their *jirgahs* and submitted. One brigade then marched down the Barandu Valley, and the other operated from Katlang, to coerce the Chamlawals who also submitted. The Ambeyla Pass was found strongly "sangared," but the passage of the troops was virtually unopposed.

The total casualties from June 10th, 1897, up to the 8th March, 1898 were, killed, including those who have died of wounds : British officers, 44 ; and British non-commissioned officers and privates, 136 ; native officers, 6 ; native non-commissioned officers and privates, 320 ; total, 506. Wounded, not including those who have died of wounds : British officers, 93 ; British non-commissioned officers and privates, 404 ; native officers, 36 ; native non-commissioned officers and privates, 845 ; total, 1,378. Died of disease : British officers, 10 ; British non-commissioned officers and privates, 250 ; natives of all ranks, 220 ; total, 480.

INDIA: GENERAL.—The Indian National Congress assembled at Amrati in January last, and passed resolutions condemning the Frontier campaign, of which part of the cost should be borne by England, objecting to the recent press prosecutions at Poona and Bombay, as against the principles of British rule—*re* proposing the holding of examinations for the Civil Service simultaneously in England and India, and hoping that Mr. D. Naoroji will be re-elected M.P. A meeting of Indians took place under the presidency of that gentleman in London, where far more pronounced resolutions of the same nature were passed.

Damodar Chapekar has been found guilty of the murder of Lieut. Ayerst and Mr. Rand and has been sentenced to death.

The cost to the Treasury of the Indian Famine has been Rx. 8,000,000, the loans and suspenses of revenue, mainly repayable, came to £4,000,000, and the charitable donations, including those from this country, were £1,700,000. The Viceroy expressed his profound admiration of the work done by officials, and praised the fortitude and patience of the natives.

There has been an excellent rainfall in Northern and Central India, and successful spring crops are thus insured.

The plague in Bombay has, unfortunately, been steadily increasing from 650 deaths a week in January to over 1,280 a week at the end of March. It has also spread into the Nizam's dominions.

Early in March much friction arose between the Bombay Corporation and the Plague Committee and resistance to the new quarantine rules and system of death registration was shown both by Hindus and Muhammadans ; it culminated in a serious riot on the 9th March, when a plague party was

attacked. Two lance-corporals were killed, and several of the police were injured. Nine rioters were killed, 22 injured, and 109 arrested.

The Governor of Bombay has since ordered that search parties are to be abolished, and that all suspicious cases are to be reported by the headmen of the various communities.

The Budget: The accounts for 1896-7 have been closed with a deficit of Rx. 1,700,000. The accounts for 1897-8 are expected to close with a deficit of Rx. 5,280,000. Famine relief has cost Rx. 5,390,000, against an estimate of Rx. 3,640,000. The Budget estimates for 1898-9 show a surplus of Rx. 890,000. The Secretary of State intends to raise £6,000,000 of permanent debt, to renew £6,000,000 of outstanding temporary debt, and to draw for £16,000,000. He intends raising in India a rupee loan of Rx. 3,000,000. Including the sums actually spent on Famine relief, and the loss of revenue, the total cost of the famine is put down at Rx. 14,040,000, besides Rx. 1,850,000 of revenue suspended, and Rx. 1,370,000 lent to cultivators.

NATIVE STATES.—Her Majesty the Queen Empress has appointed the Maharaja of Datia to be a K.C.S.I.; the Maharaja of Benares and the Diwan of Pilsanpur to be K.G.C.I.E., and the Hon. Baba Khem Singh Bedi to be K.C.I.E. His Excellency the Viceroy has conferred the title of Bahadur upon the Maharajas of Bhagalpur and Samthar.

The Nawab Shams-i-Jehān Begum Sahiba, C.I., of Murshedabad, has been appointed vice-patroness of the National Association for providing female medical aid to the women of India.

The Khairagarh chief was invested with the hereditary title of Raja by Sir Charles Lyall, Chief Commissioner, at Raipur in January last.

The Maharaja of Patiala, on his return from the front, speaking at an assembly, said that should danger threaten the stability of the British Empire, he and his troops would fight for the British cause.

The return of the Maharaja of Kūch Behār from serving on the frontier was marked by an enthusiastic reception.

The sixth Vaishya conference was held at Meerut, 575 delegates from all parts of India attended.

At the Thaneshwar Eclipse Fair, a gathering of some 700,000 people had assembled. The Maharajas of Benares and Ajudia were present.

H. H. the Agha Khan, Sultan Muhammad Shah of Bombay, has come to Europe for the benefit of his health.

BURMA.—The demarcation of the Northern frontier is proceeding satisfactorily, and will probably be completed this season. That, of the Southern portion, on account of differences of opinion, necessitating reference home, has been delayed.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir is reported to be in good health, and the country peaceful. Sir S. Pyne, who has arrived in India from Kabul, via the Khaibar, said that the Amir's position during the late troubles was a delicate one, and that the Mullahs alone were responsible for the frontier risings.

BALUCHISTAN.—Owing to the friction existing between the "Divan" or "Nazim" of Mekran, who is a Hindu, and some of the leading chiefs

who are all Muhammadans, one of these, Mehrab Khan, made an attack on the "Nazim," looting his treasury, and taking him prisoner, but afterwards liberating him. Mehrab Khan was joined by two malcontents, named Baluch Khan and Jaffar Khan, and attacked, for the sake of loot, a surveying party under Captain Burn, which was being escorted by Rustam Khan, a brother of Mehrab Khan. Several Panjabis were slaughtered, Captain Burn escaping to Ormara. Lieut. Turner, R.E., and Messrs. Hickie and Prunty, who were also engaged in survey work some 100 miles away, returned in safety to the coast escorted by Sardar Muhammad Hassan Khan. Col. Mayne, with a force composed of the 3rd Baluchis and some guns, arrived at Ormara from Karachi, and proceeded to relieve the "Nazim," who was beleaguered in the Kej Valley. Marching to Turbat, he completely defeated Mehrab Khan, who fled towards the Persian Frontier. The insurgents lost 100 killed, including Baluch Khan. The disturbances are now practically over, and offers of submission from various quarters have been received.

Lieut.-Col. Gaisford, political officer in the Thal-Chotiali district, has been murdered. The murderer, a *ghúzi*, was captured and executed.

PERSIA.—Col. Meade, the Resident at Bushire, proceeded to Jask to investigate the murder of Mr. Graves, the telegraph official, reported in our last issue. Persian troops were also despatched from Bushire to secure the murderers. Later advices report that the Governor of Kirman marched against some Beluchi rebels and took the fort of Fanoch near Geh, the leaders fleeing to the hills. Mr. Graves's murderers are supposed to be with these rebels near the Rabij river, to which place the troops are proceeding.

At Hamadan a riot has occurred, the result of a quarrel between two rival priests, and many persons were killed.

On account of the illicit trade of arms in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, the s.s. "Baluchistan" was intercepted by H.M.S. "Lapwing" and the arms found on board were confiscated. The Governor of Bushire also raided the merchants' godowns in that port, and secured several thousand arms.

The resignation last year of the late Grand Vazir, Amin-ed-dowleh, was a great loss to Persia, as he was a man of great capacity. Mushir-ed-dowleh, who succeeded him, is also Minister of Foreign Affairs. Nasir-ul-Mulk is Minister of Finance. Mukhbar-ed-dowleh, the former Minister of Telegraphs, etc., is Minister of the Interior. Mulk Ara, the Shah's uncle, is Minister of Justice, and Nusrat-ed-dowleh is Minister for War.

The Government has lately engaged the services of three Belgian officials for the purpose of reforming the Customs department.

A serious assault was committed at MUSCAT by some of the Sultan's officials in February upon three British naval officers. Satisfaction was demanded, and the offenders were publicly flogged and imprisoned in irons.

RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA.—The whole of Russian Central Asia is to be united under a Governor-General. In view of the increase of the plague in India, the Russian Government has decided to maintain the prohibition of Muhammadan pilgrimages from Russian territory this year. The Govern-

ment are about to build 18 new transport boats for the Caspian Sea for the transport of troops. The railway between Merv and the Afghan frontier has been commenced, the length is 197 miles, and is estimated to cost 8,718,931 roubles. It will be completed in three years. The Siberian railway has been laid down to within 200 miles of Irkutsk, and is open for traffic as far as Krasnoyarsk.

SIAM.—A rising has broken out in Battambang, where the people refused to pay taxes. A Siamese force sent against the rebels has defeated them, but fighting still continues. The Cambodians are involved in the outbreak, and notice had been given beforehand to the French authorities.

TONGKING.—A credit of 6,000,000 francs has been voted for a railway from Hanoi to the Chinese frontier. Seven thousand troops have been mobilised at Mong-Kai, near the frontier.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—A fresh rising has occurred, and a force of 1,500 men has been sent to relieve Bolinao, and several encounters with the rebels have taken place.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—After attacking the Government station at Limbawang, the escaped convict Talleh fled to the Membakut River, in the territory of the Sultan of Brunei. With the latter's consent, two British gunboats with Mr. Beauport, the Governor of Labuan, on board, proceeded up the river and captured the fort, Talleh escaping.

CHINA.—After several negotiations with different powers the Government has signed a contract for the loan of £16,000,000, to be shared between the Hongkong and Shanghai, and the German Asiatic Banks. The loan bears interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and is redeemable by means of a sinking fund, at the end of 45 years. It is secured on the unpledged balance of the Customs and specified *likin*. This loan was offered for public subscription in London on March 22nd at 90.

France has demanded of China several concessions, of which the following are the principal: China is not to alienate the provinces of Kwang-tung, Kwang-si and Yun-nan, the cession of a port at Kwang-chau near Hainan, the right to construct a railway from Laokai to Yun-nan, and the Director of the Imperial Postal Department to be a Frenchman.

China has agreed to the following Russian demands; (1) A lease of Port Arthur for 25 years as a fortified naval base. (2) A lease of Ta-lien-wan for the same period as an open port and terminus of the Trans-Manchurian railway, with right of fortification. (3) The construction of a railway from Petuna to Ta-lien-wan and Port Arthur on the same terms as the Trans-Manchurian railway.

KOREA.—The first railway in Korea is about to be constructed. The Government has granted a concession to an American firm to build a line from Chemulpho, on the Yellow Sea, to Seoul, the capital, a distance of 25 miles. By agreement with the Russian Financial adviser to the Government, Mr. McLeavy Brown will remain at the head of the Customs for three years. The mint is now in Russian hands. The result of a census shows that the total population of the Empire is about 5,300,000. The Foreign Minister, who had resigned, has been reappointed, with the result that all the other ministers have resigned as a protest against this concession to Russia.

**JAPAN.**—In December last the Ministry resigned, and the Marquis Ito formed a Cabinet. A supreme Military Advisory Council was also formed by an Imperial edict, and is composed of the following members:—The Marquis Yamagata, Prince Komatsu, Count Oyama and the Marquis Saigo. The new Budget fixes the expenditure for the present year at 229 million *yen* and the receipts at 212 million *yen*, while the deficit of the 17 million *yen* will be covered by a financial programme to be laid before Parliament. Since the Marquis Ito once more became Prime Minister, the relations between Japan and China have been steadily improving, and she is determined not to allow its interests in China to be damaged by Russia, and attempts on Russia's part to establish herself in Korea will be resisted.

**ALGIERS.**—Serious disturbances broke out in Algiers in connection with the Dreyfus agitation and the consequent movement against the Jews. Many Jewish shops were pillaged; 78 persons were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment.

**ABYSSINIA.**—The text of the treaty between Great Britain and the Emperor Menelik, negotiated in May last by Mr. Rennell Rodd, consists of six articles, and provides that the road between Zeyla and Harrar shall remain open to the commerce of all nations; Great Britain to be accorded the same advantages as other nations, all material destined for the State shall be allowed to pass through Zeyla duty free, and it concludes by the Emperor engaging himself to prevent the passage of war material, through his dominions, to the Mahdists.

**EGYPT.**—The Khedive has announced to the native Legislative Council that the Government will request the European Powers to give their assent to the employment of £216,000 annually, for 10 years, from the Debt Conversion Savings, towards the reduction of the land tax.

The Government has agreed to sell to the firm of Allen, Anderson and Co. the fleet of Khedivial steamers, eleven in number, a large floating dock in Alexandria, and workshops and warehouses in Alexandria and Suez for £150,000. The purchasers engage to construct a graving dock at Alexandria at a cost of £80,000. Sir Benjamin Baker is the consulting engineer of this syndicate, and shares have commanded a 25 per cent. premium on the Alexandria Bourse. Dams are about to be constructed across the Nile at Assuan and Assiut.

The Revenue for 1897 amounted to £11,092,564, and the expenditure to £10,559,257. The sum of £265,000 has been added to the Conversion Economies Fund, which now amounts to £2,767,000, and £630,000 has been added to the General Reserve Fund, which on Dec. 31st, 1897, amounted to £3,832,000. The expenditure for the Sudan expedition is not included in these accounts, that being charged to the Special Reserve Fund, which shows a deficit of £570,000 on balance. Of the Debt £550,000 was paid off during last year.

The Khedive has refused his consent to a prohibition of the Mecca pilgrimage this year, the Government has, therefore, substituted certain restrictions, with a view to diminish the number of pilgrims, and the danger of infection from them on their return.

**SOUDAN.**—Kassala was taken over from the Italian authorities last

Christmas by Col. Parsons in command of an Egyptian force of 25 officers and 825 men; 600 native levies were also transferred from the Italian to the Egyptian service, these levies shortly afterwards captured from the dervishes the posts of Osobri and Mugatta.

The Suakin-Trinkitat Railway being now completed, the route to Kassala is thereby shortened.

The Sirdar, who is in command of a force of 18,000 Egyptians and three British battalions, has established his headquarters at Berber, and holds a strong position extending from there to the Atbara. The details of the force are as follows:—British Brigade under General Gatacre; Infantry Division—Maj.-Genl. Hunter; Artillery—Col. Long; First Brigade under Brig.-Genl. Macdonald; Second Brigade—Brig.-Genl. Maxwell; Third Brigade—Brig.-Genl. Lewis; and Cavalry—Colonel Broadwood.

Mahmud, the Dervish commander at Metemmeh, has transferred his main force to Shendy on the right bank of the river.

A body of Dervishes, who had occupied Shabalia Island, were attacked by Egyptian troops, who drove them out with a loss of 36 killed. The troops are now concentrated at Kunar, five miles north of the Atbara. The Dervishes have occupied Hudi on the Atbara.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—The Angoni Zulus in Nyassaland rose in revolt. A force of the Central Africa Protectorate completely defeated them, and the chief (Mpseni) surrendered voluntarily.

EAST AFRICA.—Major MacDonald's troops are still facing the rebels in the Uganda territory and a reinforcement of the 27th Bombay infantry is proceeding from Mombassa to join him. Later accounts report a victory over Mwanga, whose forces have been dispersed.

TRANSVAAL.—President Krüger has been re-elected by a large majority; his first act after re-nomination was to dismiss Chief Justice Kotze from office, for refusing to comply with the provisions of Law 1 of 1897. The latter has published a manifesto addressed to the inhabitants of the Republic, in which he gives the history of the events leading up to and resulting from the passing of Law 1, whereby he accuses the President of leading the attack on the independence of the Bench. He leaves the people to decide whether the country shall be constitutionally governed or subjected to an autocrat's will.

As compared with January, 1897, the State revenue for January, 1898, showed a decrease of £1,000, and the expenditure a decrease of £43,000. The Treasury balance at the end of January was £655,000, against £826,000. The revenue for February was £417,000, and the expenditure £366,000.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. Rhodes, whilst receiving representatives of the South African League, advocated the confederation of the British parts of South Africa.

CONGO.—The railway from Matadi to Ndodo (Stanley Falls) will be completed and thrown open to traffic this month. The line is 260 miles in length, and provides means of transport across the district of the Cataracts, where the Congo is useless for navigation purposes.

WEST AFRICA.—Hard fighting has taken place between the Niger Coast



Protectorate's forces and the hostile tribes on the Cross River, in the Ediba country. The enemy lost heavily. On our side Captains Fenton and Cockburn and Mr. Middleton were wounded, the two former eventually succumbed to their wounds. The district is now quiet.—British forces have occupied Bereguru and Bashoro in the Borgu country.—The ambassadors of the Kings of Borgu and Yoruba have met at Saki, in the presence of the Governor, Lt.-Col. M'Callum, and have effected a settlement of a long-standing feud between the two nations.

On February 6th, Boria (in the *Hinterland* of Lagos) was occupied by a Hausa guard. Three days later some Senegalese from Nikki arrived with instructions to occupy it, and ordered the Hausas to haul down the British flag, which was refused. The French troops thereupon retired.

A French detachment arrived also at Nassa (or Tossa), where Major Northcote had established a post, after protests between the two parties, M. Codrillet left for Leo, leaving the post uncontested. See the Article on "France and England in West Africa."

Colonel Lugard, C.B., D.S.O., and Colonel Willcocks have respectively assumed the posts of Commissioner and Commandant of the LAGOS AND NIGER HINTERLANDS.

Serious disturbances have occurred in the *Hinterland* of SIERRA LEONE over the collection of the hut tax.

CANADA.—Trade returns for the last six months of 1897 show a remarkable increase. Imports totalled \$62,701,000 (an increase of \$4,500,000), and the exports \$99,673,000 (an increase of \$22,700,000).

The Dominion Parliament opened on the 3rd February. In the speech from the Throne reference was made to the success of the last Canadian loan, and the efforts made by the Imperial Government to facilitate the closest possible relations between Canada and the other parts of the Empire.

The utterances of Sir M. Hicks-Beach regarding the naval defences of Canada, have deeply stirred public feeling, and the Government intend asking Parliament for \$50,000 for the purpose of training, as Naval Reserve men, the fishermen of the Eastern provinces during the winter months.

The Government has contracted with the firm of Mackenzie, Mann and Co., of Toronto, for the construction of a railway 130 miles in length from the Stickeen River to Teslin Lake, from where there is a continuous navigation to Klondike and the Yukon district.

The Behring Sea commissioners have awarded to Canadian sealers \$464,000, exclusive of two small reserved claims, conditionally assessed at \$6,000.

The French Government has offered an annual subsidy of \$80,000 for a direct line of steamers between France and Canada, on condition that the Dominion Parliament votes a similar sum.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Government has signed a contract with Mr. Reid, the railway contractor, who agrees to build and work the entire railway system of 650 miles for 50 years, receiving a subsidy of 2,500 acres of land per mile. Mr. Reid will pay a million dollars now, which becomes 7 millions at the end of the period, when the Colony will take the money and the contractor the railway. Mr. Reid purchases St. John's dock for

\$350,000 and the Government telegraph lines for \$125,000. He will build 7 mail-steamers, receiving as a subsidy \$100,000 yearly for 30 years. He also agrees to work certain coal areas, etc., and to build an electric railway. This contract represents a gain of 15 million dollars to the Colony, and an immense stimulus to its industries.

AUSTRALASIA.—For the latest statistics of the population, commerce, trade, etc., of the various Colonies, see the article upon Australasia in our present number.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Commonwealth Bill was adopted by the Federation Convention on March 16th. The powers of the Federal High Court, as fixed by the Convention, include the decision of disputes between individual States and between a State and the Commonwealth.

QUEENSLAND.—The town of Mackay has been visited by a cyclone, which has destroyed several churches, hotels, and public buildings.

TASMANIA.—Several calamitous bush fires have occurred, and many lives have been lost.

Over 2,000 acres reserved round the Mount Lyell Company's property were thrown open for mining purposes in February, and resulted in an extraordinary rush.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of:—Lieut. Fitzgerald, 2nd Oxfordshire Regt.;—Baron Craignish (Capt. Campbell), B.S.C., Persia Mutiny; Sir Cornelius Kortright, K.C.M.G.;—Major E. Bowles (Rohilkhand, China 1860);—Capt. W. A. Marson, 8th Bengal Infantry;—Capt. C. Keats Jackson (China, Crimea);—Depy. Surgeon General J. Houston, medical officer to the Mysore State;—Sir H. Havelock-Allan (Persia Mutiny);—Sir J. T. Airey, K.C.B. (Afghanistan 1841, Kohistan, Crimea, etc.);—Inspector Genl. T. R. Pickthorn, R.N. (China);—Major W. Hickman, Bengal Infantry (Zhob Valley, Burma, Miranzai);—Commander H. James;—Lieut.-General, J. D. Hall (Panjab, Persia, Mutiny);—Col. S. C. Kyle, R.A. (Mutiny);—Hon. W. Gisborne, an authority on New Zealand;—Mr. Steinhausen (Lagos railway);—Sirdar Shirindil Khan, Governor of Khost;—The Hon. Sir R. H. Meade, G.C.B., late permanent Secretary for the Colonies;—Rev. J. L. Pilkington (Uganda);—Major-General J. W. F. Bean, Bengal Staff;—Colonel Cooper-King, a well known writer on military subjects;—Lieut.-Col. G. R. Hodgson, Madras Police;—Col. W. G. Straghan, Norfolk Regt.; Lieut. B. Logan, Indian Frontier (Burma);—Col. Plant, I.S.C.;—Major-General Yeatman-Biggs, C.B. (China 1860, South Africa 1879, Egypt, Kohat and Dargai);—General H. W. Gwyn, formerly of the R.M.L.I. (Crimea);—Major-General S. Hackett (Crimea, Abyssinia and Egypt 1882);—Major M. J. Slater, R.E. (Afghanistan 1878-80);—The Right Rev. J. M. Speechley, D.D., late Bishop of Travancore and Cochin;—Lieut.-Gen. Sir F. D. Middleton, K.C.M.G., C.B. (New Zealand, Sonthal rebellion, Mutiny, N.-W. Territories of Canada rebellion);—Commander R. J. Stotherd, R.N. (China 1857);—Major Winn, Rifle Brigade;—M. S. Gilmore, Bengal Civil Service; General G. S. Montgomery, C.S.I., J.P., late Bombay Infantry (Mutiny);—Major-General C. J. C. Sillery (New Zealand 1866, Afghan war 1879, etc.);—Major-General T. J. Moberly, R.E., well known by his labours in the cause of elementary education;—Major-Gen. H. Cox, late B.S.C. (Gwalior 1843, Waziristan 1860);—Capt. H. Myland, late of Malakand Field Force;—Mr. J. Lawrence, Indian Medical Service (retired);—Major-General F. G. Hodgson, Madras S.C.;—General Sir Daniel Lysons, G.C.B. (Canadian rebellion 1838-9, Crimea);—Lieut.-Col. J. Haughton, I.S.C. (Tirah);—Lieut. M. R. Walker (Tirah);—

Lieut. T. P. Dowdall (Tirah);—Second Lieut. E. St. G. Hughes (Tirah);—Lieut. Turing (Tirah);—Babu Kedarnath Banerji, the leading member of the Mozaffarpur bar;—Major-General Sir M. K. Kennedy, K.C.I.E., R.E. (Afghanistan 1879-80);—Major-Gen. A. H. H. Walsh, R.M.L.I. (Baltic);—General H. A. Adams, Bombay Infantry (Kotah, Gwalior);—Major-Gen. A. A. Munro, J.P. (Panjab 1848-9, Sonthal, Umbeyla, Donar Valley), Capt. F. Fenton, Niger Coast Protectorate);—Lieut.-Col. H. L. Evans, I.S.C. (Mutiny);—Lieut. P. G. Stewart (Tirah);—Lieut. Crosbie, 4th Dragoon Guards;—Lieut. J. B. Bedford, I.C.S., in the Lagos *Hinterland*;—Lieut. H. W. Trench, in India;—Col. L. W. Taylor, late Bengal Artillery;—Mr. William Young, C.S.I., late Bengal C.S.;—Lieut. Hammond (Tirah);—Sir Erasmus Borrowes (Burmese War 1853 and Mutiny);—Surgeon-Gen. S. Fuller, late A.M.S. (Mutiny, Egypt 1882);—Sir P. H. Clarke, formerly 9th Lancers;—Lieut.-Col. J. F. Harman, late R.A.;—Major-General G. C. Lambert, late 101st Bengal Fusiliers (Sutlej, Burma 1852-3, N.-W. Frontier 1863 and Umbeyla);—Major-General the Hon. G. T. Devereux, late R.A. (Kaffir war 1852);—Lieut.-Col. J. R. Holden-Rose (Afghanistan 1842, Sutlej 1846, Panjab 1848-9);—Major W. Cecil Welsh Rawlinson (Sikkim 1888);—Lieut. S. Ives de Kantzow (N.-W. Frontier);—Col. D. H. Osborne, late Bengal C.S. (Mutiny);—Commander C. A. Denman Pasco, R.N. (Borneo 1845, China 1847);—His Highness Prince Osman Fazil, cousin of the Khedive;—Major E. V. Huyshe (Egypt 1882, Sudan, 1885);—Lieut.-Col. C. S. Hunt, late 19th foot (Central India 1858-9);—The Tai Wen Kun, father of the present Emperor of Korea;—Sir James Mackie, K.C.M.G., LL.D.;—Captain A. R. Barwell, 3rd Ghurkhas, murdered at Mamani;—The Very Rev. J. Vincent-Cleary, R. C. Archbishop of Kingston, Canada;—Capt. W. S. Graham, late Bengal Light Cavalry; Capt. W. Balfour, late Bombay Navy;—Lieut.-Col. R. Newliggeng, late 89th Regt.;—Dr. W. Evans, late Madras Medical Service;—Capt. C. J. Johnson, Madras Army (retired);—Lieut.-Col. C. W. Cragg, formerly Rifle Brigade (Crimea, Mutiny, Bundelkhand);—Surgeon-Gen. A. Maclean, M.D. (Crimea and Mutiny);—Col. R. W. Robinson, formerly Bedford Regt.;—Gen. H. Hammond, late Bengal Artillery (Waziristan 1851-2 and Mutiny);—Col. C. D. Pedder (Crimea);—Capt. G. L. Keir, Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny, China 1859, Bhutan 1865-6);—Colonel G. B. Malleon, a well-known writer of and authority on Indian History (Burma);—Colonel C. J. O. Chambers, late 19th Madras Infantry (Mutiny);—The Hon. Theodore Davie, Chief Justice of British Columbia;—Mr. J. P. Symons (Natal), a veteran Colonial legislator and South African campaigner;—The Dowager Countess of Elgin, I.C.I., wife of a former, and mother of the present Viceroy of India;—Professor Kirk, F.L.S., a distinguished botanist;—Col. W. H. Garton, Bengal S.C. (Sonthal campaign and Mutiny);—Fleet Surgeon C. K. Ord, M.D., F.L.S. (Baltic, Japan);—Major-General Sir G. Bouchier, K.C.B. (Gwalior campaign 1843-4, Mutiny, Bhutan and Lushai);—Major-Gen. R. P. Anderson, Bengal Staff Corps (retired); Panjab 1848-9, Mutiny);—Maj.-Genl. Woodruffe, late Bengal S.C. (Afghanistan 1878-9);—Col. G. W. Smith (Eusofzai Frontier, Afghanistan 1878-9);—Col. E. Swetenham, formerly I.S.C. (N.W. Frontier campaign 1858);—Sir W. L. Dobson, Chief Justice of Tasmania;—Sir Henry Lushington, Barr., Bengal C.S.;—Col. H. C. B. Tanners, I.S.C. (Persia, Looshai, Afghanistan 1878-9);—Lieut.-Col. T. H. Somerville (Kaffir War 1846-7, Crimea);—Sir A. H. Palmer, K.C.M.G., President of the Queensland Legislative Council;—Mr. D. G. Macleod, M.A., LL.D., Judge of Moulmein;—Col. Dyer, the able President of the Engineering Trades Employers' Federation. Lt.-Col. A. B. Shakespear, R.M.A. (Egypt);—Gholan Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Army;—Admiral R. E. Coote, C.B. (China 1847, Lagos 1851).

25th March, 1898.





N.J.  
SV

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